



This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

- + *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.
- + *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.
- + *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.
- + *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

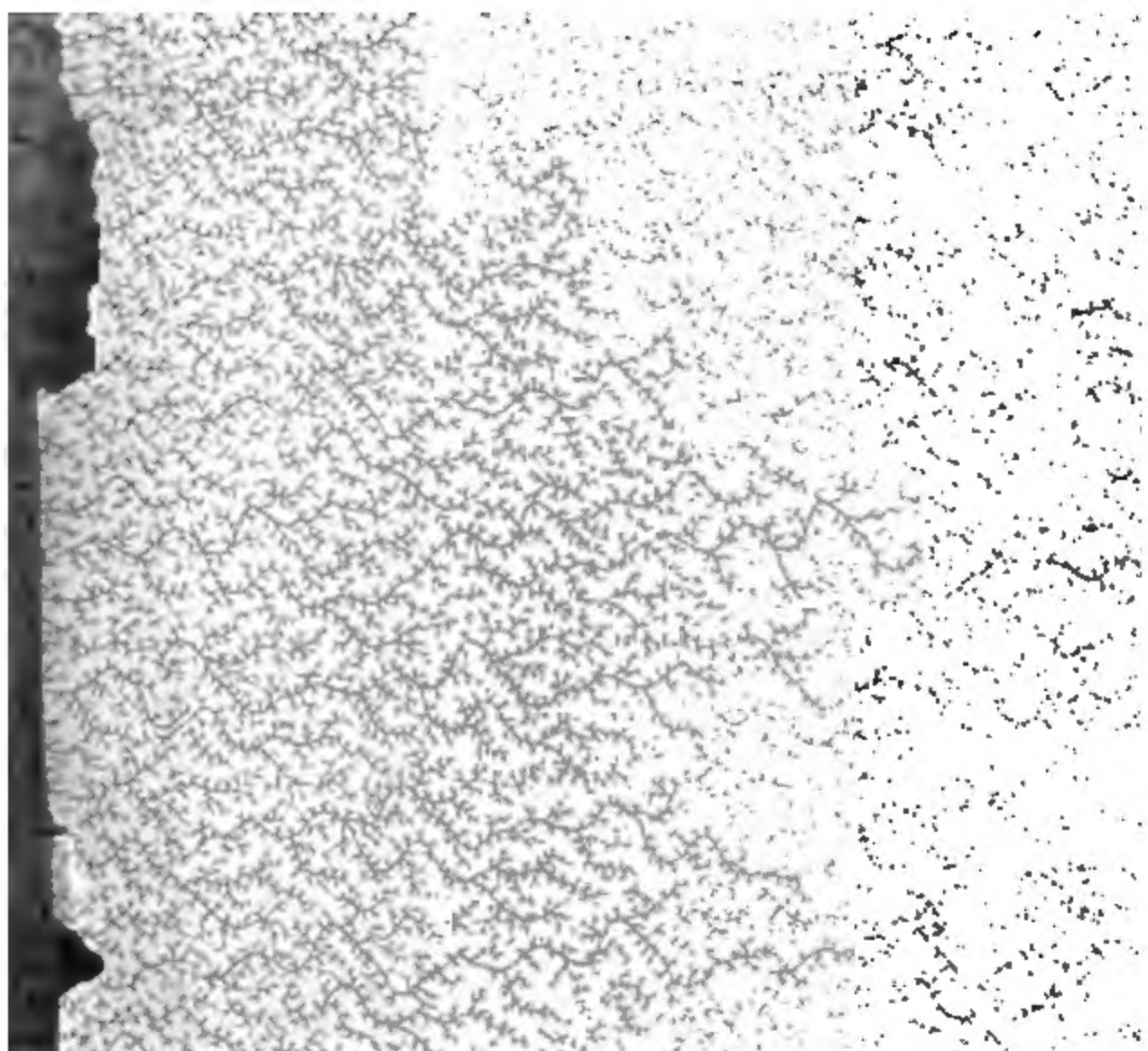
About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at <http://books.google.com/>



3 3433 06728246 1







GENERAL HISTORY

OF THE

LIVES, TRIALS, and EXECUTIONS

OF ALL THE

Royal and Noble Personages,

That have suffered in Great-Britain and Ireland for

HIGH TREASON, or other CRIMES,

FROM THE

**Accession of HENRY VIII. to the Throne of England,
down to the present Time;**

With a CIRCUMSTANTIAL NARRATIVE of

Their BEHAVIOUR during CONFINEMENT,

AND

AT THE PLACE OF EXECUTION:

To which is added,

**A PARTICULAR ACCOUNT of the REBELLIONS in
England, Scotland and Ireland, for the two last Centuries.**

Compiled, with the utmost Care and Accuracy, from the

Best Histories, and Most Authentic Memoirs,

By DELAHAY GORDON, Esq.

And ILLUSTRATED with COPPER-PLATES.

VOLUME THE THIRD.



L O N D O N :

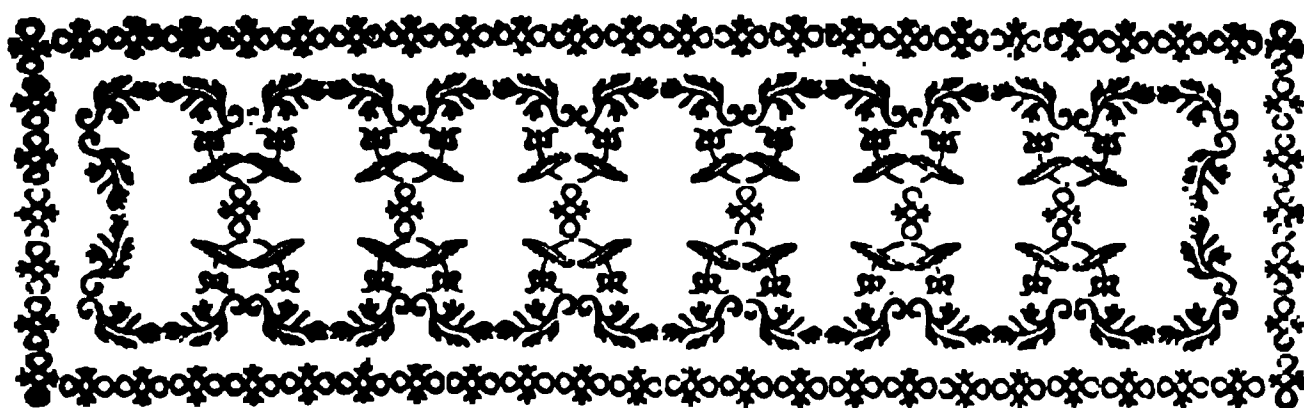
Printed for J. BIRD, opposite St. Dunstan's Church, Fleet-Street,

M DCC LX.

Report No. 934/06

XXOY W304
21004
Y0000





A

General History, &c.



T H E

History of the Life and Death

O F

Sir WALTER RALEGH.

THOUGH abundance of solid particulars are naturally sunk in the rapid current of time, while many far less substantial are floating upon the surface, to the hand of every ordinary memorialist: and, though some shining circumstances, in the prosperous part of sir Walter Raleigh's life have been darkened through envy; as others, in the unfortunate period, by the age in which he lived; nevertheless, his single life may perhaps be found more fruitful of memorable incidents, than many histories of entire ages: in much, as I may be

Vol. III. 3 more

apprehensive, with a late collector of his memoirs; “ That the describing a person of so diffusive a
 “ praise, so equally great in so many different parts
 “ of life; will be like attempting a landskip from a
 “ hill, where the multiplicity and extent of
 “ the prospects may rather distract the mind, than
 “ direct it ; and call for judgment to restrain the
 “ fancy, which is apt to run riot, when employed
 “ upon too many objects.” Many guides may indeed appear to lead us through this wilderness; but, numerous as the authors are who mention him, they contain but fragments of his story; divers whereof, hitherto widely dispersed, have escaped not only our general historians, but the many compilers of distinct pieces on his actions. Even the moderns, who have treated of him with impartiality, have yet been deficient in point of industry, so as to prove no less injurious to his merits, than some who in his own age have conspired to depreciate them. Hence the generality, having been too superficial and undigested; having neither regarded due choice and order or matter, proportion in the parts, or connexion of the whole; nor yet discharged themselves by such references to proper vouchers, as might satisfy those readers it is my ambition to please; I have esteemed the number of such writers, no discouragement to the revival of his story.

. And first, for the name of Raleigh, otherwise written Rale and Ralega, in some old deeds I have formerly seen; it is certainly of great antiquity in this kingdom; since there are some villages and towns in the west, as well as other parts, so called; which might at first receive their denomination from some, as well as afterwards give it to others, who were natives or possessors thereof: and, since we are credibly informed, that one of those districts

stricts belonged antiently to noble lords of the same name, as also that several of them were so called from the very family we are to speak of: and, as the Raleghs of Devonshire will appear to have flourished there before the conquest, they might be the progenitors of those in other countries; as it is expressly intimated out of the records they were of those in Warwickshire. But, as we are also told of no less than five knights of this name, at one time differently situated in that western country before mentioned; and that there were three great families so named also there, contemporary with sir Walter Ralegh's, who bore arms different from those of his paternal coat; we may conclude, they were not all of one lineage; and, at the same time, that it is owing to the eminency of this great man, that a distinction of the several houses, and his in particular, when all but his were in a manner extinct, has been so elaborately endeavoured by the antiquaries and genealogists of his own time.

As to the family of sir Walter Ralegh therefore in particular, it is generally agreed on, that Smalridge, in the parish of Axminster, in the county of Devon, was one of their most ancient seats: But sir William Pole, who is said to have been one of the greatest searchers into the antiquities of that country, has been singularly short in the time of their first settling there. However, if we should agree with him upon that person for sir Walter Ralegh's direct ancestor, who first removed thither out of Nettlecomb Ralegh, in Somersetshire, in the reign of king Henry III. from whom there is a successive descent of those six knights, sir Wi-
mond, sir Hugh, sir John, sir Peter, and two sir
Johns more; besides others, who were either of

the same degree themselves, or married into families distinguished with it, even down to Wimond, the grandfather of sir Walter Raleigh: I know not but it may be also allowed, that the honours of this pedigree were sufficient to have been boasted of by some of his traducers. For though, in the eye of heraldry, many titles are accounted more noble than knighthood; though native and patrimonial dignities, or such as descend necessarily from father to son, may, in the eye of the common lineal claimant, appear most legitimate; and such as are venal, be esteemed in that of the wealthy most valuable; yet those which are personal, the individual acquisition, or recompence of every man's proper merit, will, in the eye of reason, be held most honourable.

John Hooker, a famous antiquary, in one of his performances, gives us to understand, that Smalridge was in possession of the Raleighs before the Norman conquest; and, that one of the family, being taken prisoner by the Gauls, did, for his deliverance upon St. Leonard's day, build, at his return home, a chapel there, consecrated to that saint; and therein, as a grateful monument, hung up his target: the records of which foundation are said to have been given by a priest of Axminster to sir Walter Raleigh, as their most rightful owner.

So much for the antiquity of the family in Devonshire, and, as for its derivation, the said Hooker, even in a printed dedication to sir Walter Raleigh, as I hinted, (which he repeatedly confirms in the aforesaid performance) not only avouches his alliance to the Courtenays, earls of Devon, and other illustrious houses; but traces the stream of consanguinity up to the kings of England, where

where he says, That one of his ancestors, in the directest line, sir John de Raleigh of Fardel (another seat of their ancient inheritance in the parish of Cornwood, eight miles east of Plymouth) espoused the daughter of sir Roger D'Amerei, who married Elizabeth, daughter of Gilbert, earl of Gloucester, by Joan D'Acres, daughter of king Edward I. which Gilbert was descended of Robert, earl of Gloucester, son to king Henry I. So goes up to the Conqueror; and farther adds, That, in like manner, he may be derived by his mother also out of the same house. But, since these two authors, the likeliest we have in print to have confirmed us in the truth of this matter, vary thus from each other; since sir William Pole thought it rather another family of the Raleighs, which was thus royally descended; since also five or six ancient pedigrees of this family, which I have seen in manuscript, by the heraldical visitors, and antiquaries of those western parts, also differ, not only from Hooker, but, in several points, both from sir William Pole, and from one another; and, lastly, since it will be considered, that I have not undertaken to account for the whole race of the Raleighs, but only one single person of the name, here let the truth, as to these remote ancestors or alliances, hover for me; for I am not moved on the wings of conjecture, to make myself a party with any of these antiquaries, nor shall endeavour to compromise the difference between them, unless such prevailing authorities had occurred, as would enable me to do it with certainty. Besides, as those whose virtues have adorned them with a sufficiency of personal honours, are ever least anxious about such as are relative; so it might well argue but little weight in the judgment of an

historian, to shew himself contentious about these feathers for his worthy ; especially such a one, as shall be found to have thought so justly light of them himself.

However, as all accounts allow him a very honourable extract ; let us prefer which we please, the freedom some great courtiers took in calling him Jack and Upstart, upon his advancement to queen Elizabeth's favour, is thought to have somewhat reflected rather on themselves, in suffering their sprightly parts to take such advantage of their noble principles.

One of these sarcasms I find recorded by lord Bacon, in his little book of Apophthegms, where he says, " That, when queen Elizabeth had advanced Raleigh, she was one day playing on the virginals, and my lord of Oxford with another nobleman stood by ; when it happened that the ledge before the jacks was taken away, so that they were seen ; whereupon that lord and the other nobleman smiled and whispered a little ; the queen marked it, and would needs know, what was the matter ? His lordship answered, They laughed to see, that when jacks went up, heads went down." Though the application of this reflection particularly to Raleigh, if such was made, is disputable, notwithstanding lord Bacon's allusion ; yet it is plain, that sir Robert Naunton, who was secretary of state at the time of Raleigh's death, and whose Observations on that queen's death were written, though not printed, before these Apophthegms, thought also that it was made upon Raleigh ; for he has said, with relation to this jest by that witty earl, " We all know it favours more of emulation and his humour than of truth ; it being a certain note of
" the

“ the times, that the queen, in her choice, never
“ took into her favour, a mere new man, nor a
“ mechanic.”

But it is believed, sir Walter Raleigh himself was afterwards pretty even with his quality-critics ; where he so solidly exposes the emptiness of merit, nay, the real detriment to it, in posterity's being entitled to the rewards of their ancestor's virtues, by hereditary honours, succession of blood, and nobility in parchment ; those only being truly noble, who, by worthy acts, have rendered themselves most notable.

Walter Raleigh was the son of Walter Raleigh, esq. of Fardel, who being thrice married, had by his first wife, Joan, daughter of John Drake, of Exmouth, in Devon, esq. two sons, one named George, and the other John ; which last married Anne, the daughter of sir Bartholomew Fortescue, of Filley, in Devon, and relict of—— Gaicrick, of Ford. His second wife was daughter of one Darell, of London ; by whom he had a daughter, named Mary, who was married to Hugh Snedale, of Hilling, in Cornwall, esq. His third wife was Catharine, daughter of sir Philip Champernon, of Modbury, and relict of Otho Gilbert, of Compton, in Devon, esq. He had by this last Venter, his third son, Carew, afterwards knighted, and of Wiltshire, who married Dorothy, daughter of sir William Wroughton, and relict of sir John Thynn ; by whom he had issue ; and, lastly, his fourth son, named Walter, the subject of the ensuing story ; who was thereby the uterine brother of three eminent knights ; sir John, sir Humphry, and sir Adrian Gilbert. By this last wife, Mr. Raleigh had only one daughter, named Margaret ; who was married first to ----- Radford, of Mount
Radford,

Radford, in Devon, clerk of the peace; and afterwards to --- Hull, of Larkebre, esq. in St. Leonard's parish, Exeter.

The family was, indeed, at this time, much declined from its former splendor of fame and affluence of fortune; for the estate of Smalridge, which remained in the name of Raleigh to the time of king Henry VIII. was then sold, by sir Walter's grandfather, Wimond, to John, the father of sir John Gilbert of Compton; but I cannot find it reduced to that low ebb, in the latter respect, which some have intimated; for Fardel remained still in their possession, which, after the death of sir Walter's father, fell to the eldest son George; and there were besides Widdycomb Raleigh, and Coliton-Raleigh in their possession; the former of which was sold, by sir Walter's eldest brother sir Carew Raleigh, to George, the natural son of George aforesaid; and the latter was sold, by sir Walter himself, to Richard Martin, or his father, of Exeter. But neither of these places claim the honour of his birth.

For his father, having the remainder of a four-score years lease, in a pleasant farm called Hayes, situate in the parish of Budley, in that part of Devonshire bordering eastward upon the sea, near where the Ottery, or river of Otters, discharges itself into the British Channel; and residing upon the said farm during the time of his last marriage; this was the birth-place of sir Walter Raleigh; and it is accordingly distinguished for nothing more remarkable by topographical writers to this day. After the expiration of that lease, Raleigh applied, but unsuccessfully, to Mr. Duke of Otterton, to whom the estate devolved, to sell it him; as appears by Raleigh's letter to him, wherein he says,
That,

“ That, for the natural disposition he had to the
 “ place, being born in that house, he had rather
 “ seat himself there, than any where else.” From
 whence, it seems, that what some, by another
 Devonian antiquary, said to have reported, and
 himself appears only to have recorded; as if sir
 Walter Raleigh was born in the city of Exeter, and
 in the house adjoining to the palace gate, has no
 authority, and, perhaps, had not so much as ru-
 mour to countenance it.

As to the time of his birth; I find the compu-
 tation has been made from Camden’s account of
 his age, that he was born in the year 1552. And
 herewith corresponds an observation I have found
 in an astrological author, who, fixing his birth in
 the sixth year of king Edward VI, which an-
 swers to the year of our Lord aforesaid, calls it,
 “ A year remarkable in our Chronicles; first, for
 “ that strange shoal of the largest sea fishes, which
 “ quitting their native waters for fresh and un-
 “ tasted streams, wandred up the Thames so high,
 “ till the river no longer retained any brackishness;
 “ and secondly, that it is thought to have been
 “ somewhat stained in our annals with the blood of
 “ our noble Seymour, duke of Somerset: events,
 “ (says he) surprisingly analogous, both to the
 “ life of this adventurous voyager, sir Walter
 “ Raleigh, whose delight was in the hazardous
 “ discovery of unfrequented coasts; and also to
 “ his unfortunate death.”

That his younger years were seasoned at the
 university of Oxford, we may gather from good
 authorities; as Hooker aforesaid, lord Bacon, and
 Anthony Wood; which last says, “ He became
 “ commoner of Oriel-college, in or about the
 “ year 1568, when his kinsman C. Champernon
 “ studied there; and that his natural parts being
 “ strangely

“strangely advanced by academical learning, under
 “the care of an excellent tutor, he became the
 “ornament of the juniors; and was worthily
 “esteemed a proficient in oratory and philo-
 “phy.”

But, in that he came so late thither as this author mentions, and stayed so long there as three years, is a mistake; for he will presently appear two years before that time amounts to, in the wars abroad. What time then can we spare for his residence at Christ-Church college also, in that university; whereof Dr. Fuller would needs have him a member, either before or after he was of Oriel; unless we could find, as I fear we shall not, that he returned from the school of Mars to that of the Muses?

Little more can we expect to have been observed of this remote part of his life; and yet something more in it has been preserved by lord Bacon afore-said, who had the judgment to foresee, that every little circumstance would be acceptable of a man, whose fortunes and misfortunes had rendered him so memorable. And, indeed, it has been represented to me as a matter of no small honour to sir Walter Raleigh, that a casual expression of his, in his immature and greenest years, should prefer itself to the commemoration of that great philosopher, in his sagest and most advanced age. But, as he had observed, on the nature of things, that great objects may be discerned through a little crevice; so he knew, with respect to the nature of men, that a great discovery of genius may be made through a small and sudden repartee; and hence might he be moved to remember, “That
 “while Raleigh was a scholar at Oxford, there was
 “a cowardly fellow, who happened to be a very
 “good archer; but having been grossly abused
 “by

it was to be by the common halter ; and earnestly petitioned, not for pardon or preservation of his life, but that they would change the instrument of his death ; and, instead of a rope, to let him take his swing in a withy ; but, being asked, Why he insisted upon such an insignificant distinction ? he answered, It was a distinction had been paid to his countrymen before him.

While the lord-deputy lay before the fort, there arrived in the bay of Smerwick, vice-admiral Bingham, and soon after sir William Winter, admiral of the fleet, with fresh supplies : hereupon the lord-deputy resolved to besiege the fort by land, while the admiral should batter it by sea. But first the Spaniards were summoned to surrender at discretion, they answered, “ They were
“ sent, some from the Holy Father, who had
“ given that realm to king Philip ; and some
“ from that king, who was to recover this land to
“ the church of Rome, which, by her majesty’s
“ means, was become schismatical and excommu-
“ nicate ; therefore, in short, were obliged to
“ retain what they had, and recover what they
“ could.”

Nor did they omit the advantage they thought this parley would produce, of finding the English unguarded, to make a sally upon them ; but they were so disappointed, through the vigilance and va'our of Ralegh's company, and that of captain Denny, that such as were not left dead behind, were forced to retreat with more haste than good speed.

The culverins, and other pieces of ordnance, being now landed, and a large mountainous bank laboriously cut through, for the carriages to pass to the place convenient for planting them ; the deputy is said to have given the enemy another

summons by cannon-shot to surrender, and receive mercy. But they answered as before; thereupon the artillery was ordered to attack the fort both by land and water.

Raleigh commanded the first three days after the opening of the trenches; and assaulted the fort so roughly from his battery, that he forced the Spaniards to several excursions; but they skirmished so warily, and hived again so nimbly, that there was no closing with them effectually.

The fourth day was commanded by Zouch, under whom John Cheke, the son of a knight well known among the learned for his writings, venturing so near the fort as to look over the parapet, being observed by a Spaniard, who levelled his piece and brought him to the ground. But now the trenches for the full battery were drawn so near the Spaniards, and the English played their cannon so furiously and incessantly upon them from every side; and, finding no succours arrive, they beat a parley, and hung out the white flag, crying out *Misericordia, Misericordia*; but the lord-deputy would not listen to any treaty with the confederates of traitors and rebels; no, not so much as to their departure with bag and baggage, or free passage to any one particular person; nothing but an absolute surrender: and, as for mercy, which Hooker before intimates to have been offered on proviso of their timely submission, we find, by Edmund Spenser, who was then secretary to the lord deputy, and upon the very spot, that his lordship never gave the Spaniards any hopes of it.

For, after the lord-deputy had discovered that they had yielded, and surrendered the fort, on the ninth of November, Raleigh and Mackworth, who had the ward of that day, first entered the castle, and,

and, with their companies, made a great slaughter; so that, except one Irish nobleman, who was reprieved, another Irishman, and an Englishman, who were sent to public execution, except also San Josepho the Spanish commander, and his camp master, with a few Spanish officers, who were sent prisoners into England, and reserved for ransom; all the invaders, between four and five hundred; were, according to the deputy's positive command, put to the sword; and the country was thus weeded of these noxious foreigners. As for Raleigh, he never was taxed, that I can learn, with any cruelty upon this account, more than Mackworth, or the rest of the officers.

Raleigh was quartered this winter at Cork, where he observed the seditious practices of David, lord Barry, Patrick Condon, and other ringleaders of the rebellion in those parts, to distress so intolerably those subjects who were peacefully inclined, and foment the disaffected to an insurrection; that he was forced to take a journey in person to the lord-deputy at Dublin; where he remonstrated the dangerous consequences he foresaw, so urgently, that, the case being taken into consideration by his lordship and the council, they returned him with a full commission to enter upon the castle, called Barry-Court, with all other lands of the said Barry, and to reduce him to peace and subjection, by such means as he judged most feasible; appointing him for his farther enablement a party of horse.

In the interim, such measures were used with those in authority at Cork, that the commission proved of little effect; but, though the estate of Barry-More, was made over to the mother of David Barry, and only rented to the son; and though it was his principal seat; yet, partly in

fear of that commission, partly through spite and indignation, he burned the castle himself to the ground, and wasted the country about it with greater outrage and destruction, than his enemies, had they taken it, would have done.

Moreover, as Raleigh was on his journey back to his quarters, an old rebel of Barry's faction, named Fitz-Edmonds, and his crew, sallied from their ambuscade, and crossed him, to oppose his passage, whom Raleigh manfully encountered and defeated, or at least broke through them, so that he got clear over the river; but one of his company, Mr. Henry Mole, following, his horse foundering, threw him down in the middle of it; where, between fear of drowning and being taken by the enemies, he called out to Raleigh for help; who, though he had escaped both dangers, yet incurred them again to save his companion's life; but Mole, in haste and confusion remounting, overleaped his horse, and fell down on the other side into a deep mire, where he might have been stifled had not Raleigh recovered him a second time, and brought him safe to land: but his horse run over to the rebels.

Raleigh waited on the opposite bank, with his staff in one hand, and a pistol in the other, for the rest of his company, who were yet to cross the river; among whom was his servant Jenkin, who had two hundred pounds of his money in charge; a sum in those days enough to make a soldier of fortune in these circumstances look about him; especially now Fitz-Edmonds had got a recruit of twelve men, and was in all above twenty strong against him. Yet this hero, as his party called him, when he beheld Raleigh stand his ground, and the rest of his company advance, whom he possibly thought might be of greater number than they

they were, only exchanged a few rough words with him, and thought it best to offer no further molestation.

Soon after the earl of Ormond departed from his long and wearisome services here to England, about the spring of the year 1581. His government of Munster was given to captain Raleigh, in commission with sir William Morgan and captain Piers. Raleigh lay for the most part at Lismore; and, in the country and woods thereabouts, spent all this summer in continual action against the rebels.

Then Raleigh removed, with his little band of fourscore foot and eight horse, to his old quarters at Cork; but receiving intelligence by the way, that the arch-traitor Barry was at Clove, with several hundred men, he resolved to pass through that town, and offer him the combat. Accordingly, at the town's end, he met Barry and his forces, whom Raleigh charged with great bravery, and put him to flight.

As he pursued his journey, he overtook another company of the enemy in a plain, by a wood side; upon whom, having only six horsemen with him, expecting probably his company would soon join him, he gave the onset; but the rebels, who were in much greater number, being cut off from the wood, and having no other relief, faced about, and fought very desperately, killing five of the horses belonging to Raleigh's company, whereof his own was one, and he himself very near being overborne by the numbers upon him, had not his trusty servant, Nicholas Wright, a Yorkshire man, interposed; who perceiving his master's horse so mortally wounded with darts, and plunging past all recovery, encountered six of the enemy at once, and killed one of them; while another of his fel-

low-servants, named Patrick Fagaw, rescued Raleigh; which had been so unsuccessfully attempted by James Fitz-Richard and his kern, both of Raleigh's company, that the man was slain, and the master very near the same fate; whereupon Raleigh would not suffer Wright to fight by him any longer, but ordered him to charge above hand and save the gentleman: at which command he rushed into the throng of the enemy, dispatched the antagonist, who pressed first upon Mr. Fitz-Richard, and rescued him.

In this sharp skirmish there were many of the rebels slain, and two taken prisoners, whom Raleigh carried with him to Cork; and while he lay there, he performed several other notable services, which deserve to be for ever registered. Among the rest, his excellent conduct in the seizure of the lord Roch, is more particularly remembered and applauded.

This nobleman, being much suspected to hold confederacy with some of the chief rebels, Raleigh undertook to bring him, with his family, before the earl of Ormond at Cork. But the design of this hazardous surprise took air among the enemy, and a party of eight hundred men, under Fitz-Edmonds and Barry, were gathered to way-lay the English either going or coming. However Raleigh, knowing the lord Roch to be a powerful and popular man among the Irish, so suddenly commanded all his company to be in readiness by eleven o'clock that night, and they were so punctual to the hour, that he directly marched away to Bally in Harsh, which was Roch's seat, about twenty miles from Cork, and escaped the ambuscade.

He arrived there by break of day; but the townsmen were so alarmed, that they soon gathered
thence

thered five hundred strong. Raleigh drew up, and in such manner bestowed his men in the town itself, that he soon quelled and restrained the people there: then selecting half a dozen out of his company, and having appointed another little party to follow him, he marched up to the castle.

He was met by three or four of Roch's gentlemen, of whom he desired to speak with their lord; which was agreed to on condition he would dismiss three or four of his own attendants; to which, with apparent readiness, he complied; but so contrived that none of them were locked out. Then he gave directions which way the rest also, without the gates, might be admitted, whilst he should hold the lord Roch in discourse; which succeeded so happily, that, by degrees, his whole complement were got within the court-yard, some guarding the gates, others watching in the hall, each having his piece loaden with a brace of balls.

The lord Roch was amazed and terrified at so silent and insensible a seizure; but, dissembling his uneasiness, he would needs have Raleigh, and the gentlemen with him, participate of his plentiful table; yet the policy of his hospitality did not defeat that of their enterprize; for, as soon as the dinner was over, Raleigh ingenuously laid open the occasion of his visit. Lord Roch made many excuses, and, in the end, absolutely refused to go along with him. But, when the commission was produced, and he found Raleigh inflexible, he chose to do that by consent, which he found he must do by compulsion. Then Raleigh urged him to oblige his townsmen likewise, who had so faithfully risen for his defence in his neighbourhood, to escort and defend him in his journey: to which lord Roch also consented, professing he doubted not

but to clear himself of whatever allegation should be laid to his charge.

When his lordship, with his lady and attendants, had made themselves ready, Raleigh was for another nocturnal progress; but, though the night fell out so very dark and tempestuous, and the ways were so full of hills and dales, rocks and precipices, that many of his soldiers were much bruised by falls, and one of them so mortified that he lost his life in the march; yet the veil wherewith the rest were sheltered, by that obscurity, from the more dangerous ambuscades of the enemy, who had every where bestrewed the passages to intercept them, made such sufficient compensations for those disasters, that, by the next morning early, he safely presented his prisoners to the general, not without raising an universal astonishment at his dextrous evasion of so many perils. But the lord Roch, upon examination, being honourably acquitted, he approved himself a faithful subject ever after, and three of his sons laid down their lives in her majesty's service.

In the month of August, the same year, the lord-deputy made the aforesaid captain John Zouch governor of Munster, with whom Raleigh and Dowdal made several journies to settle and compose the country; but the certain place of their residence was at Cork: and when Zouch, with Dowdal, made that secret expedition, in which he lopped off the third branch of this venomous hydra, sir John Desmond; whose body was hung by the heels on a gibbet, then fixed on the gates of that city, and his head sent to London; he left the government of Cork to Raleigh, who appears no longer, after this reduction, in the wars of Ireland; but how well his services were received
by

by the queen, and how nobly she rewarded him for them after the earl of Desmond himself was slain, we shall hear, when we arrive at the time that his large possessions came to be divided among those, who had assisted in quenching the flames of his rebellion.

Raleigh was not long in England, before his relation in some degree to the court began to appear, Tradition has industriously ascribed his first introduction thither to a piece of gallantry, wherewith he surprized the queen accidentally in one of her walks.

“ Her majesty meeting,” says my author,
 “ with a plashy place, made some scruple to go
 “ on ; when Raleigh, dressed in the gay and gen-
 “ teel habit of those times, presently cast off and
 “ spread his new plush cloak on the ground,
 “ whereon the queen trod gently over, rewarding
 “ him afterwards with many suits for his so free
 “ and seasonable tender of so fair a foot-cloth.
 “ Thus an advantageous admission into the notice
 “ of a prince, is more than half a degree to pre-
 “ ferment.”

After this, Raleigh coming to court, and finding some hopes of the queen's favour reflecting upon him, he wrote in a glass window, obvious to her eye,

“ Fain would I climb, yet fear I to fall.”

Under which her majesty soon after wrote,

“ If thy heart fail thee, climb not at all.”

But, though he always made a very elegant appearance, as well in the splendor of attire, as the politeness of address ; having a good presence in a
 handsome

handsome and well compacted person; a strong natural wit, and a better judgment; with a bold and plausible tongue, whereby he could set out his parts to the best advantage; all very engaging advocates for royal favour, especially in a female sovereign; but, be that as it may, we find him, upon his return into England, employed in an expedition or two, by authority from the court; they being upon occasions of state: and, though it imports not much whether it was now, or before he was in Ireland, that he accompanied the French ambassador, monsieur Simier, among those gentlemen who were appointed for his safe convoy to France: yet, if that ambassador returned home, when his master the duke of Anjou, came last over in November, the year before-named, this is the place for it to be mentioned in.

But, after the duke of Anjou himself had been three months in England, he also departed to take upon him the government of the Netherlands. This departure was in February following; and, though the queen seems to have declined the marriage with him, principally because she found her ministry so averse to it; yet there was an author, and his printer, who, for having published a little treatise against it about two years before, had their hands cut off but a few days after the duke came to London: and she shewed him many other marks of favour and distinction; particularly when he left the kingdom, she bore him company in person to Dover; and, having appointed a most splendid retinue of nobles and gentlemen to wait upon him to his new government; I find that Raleigh was also among this grand assembly. They attended the duke to Antwerp, where, making a most magnificent procession, he was created duke of Brabant, &c. and invested with his charge.

Raleigh

Raleigh seems not only to have staid there some time after the lord-admiral. Howard, Leicester, young Sidney, and the rest were returned; but, through the opportunity of being personally known to the prince of Orange, honoured with some special acknowledgments from him to the queen of England. And Raleigh mentions thus much himself, in a discourse he wrote many years afterwards; wherein, speaking of the Hollanders flourishing state, he lays down, as the first cause thereof, the favour and assistance granted them by this crown; “which, says he, the late worthy and famous prince of Orange did always acknowledge; and, in the year 1582, when I took my leave of him at Antwerp, after the return of the earl of Leicester into England, and monsieur’s arrival there; when he delivered me his letters to her majesty, he prayed me to say to the queen from him, “*Sub umbra alarum tuarum protegimur:*” for certainly,” says he, “they had withered in the bud, and sunk in the beginning of their navigation, had not her majesty assisted them.”

Towards the end of August, this last mentioned year, the lord Grey resigned the sword of Ireland, after he had been two years deputy in that kingdom; and this must be the time, that dispute between him and Raleigh was brought to a hearing, of which authors have so blindly written.

Sir Robert Naunton is confident, that, among the second causes of Raleigh’s growth (not denying, or rather acquiescing, in his actions and accomplishments to have been the first) that variance between him and the lord Grey, in his descent into Ireland, was a principal; “for it drew them both over,” says he, “to the council-table, there to plead their cause; where (what advantage he
“ had

“ had in the cause, my said author knew not (but
 “ says) he had much the better in telling of his
 “ tale; and so much, that the queen and the lords
 “ took no slight mark of the man and his parts;
 “ for from thence he came to be known, and to
 “ have access to the queen and the lords.”

Now, if this author is so defective, as not to have known the cause or subject of their quarrel; or, that Raleigh, leaving Ireland long before the lord Grey, was not likely to be drawn over together with him to the council-table; how much more must those writers following him be so, who have confused this matter with several other particulars; though they seem to have had no other authority? One of them says, Raleigh had in deed, but not in truth, the better by the tongue; and insinuates, (with great caution and delicacy he thought, no doubt) that the queen had been told something so engaging of Raleigh, besides his advantage in pleading, that it was not to be mentioned; as if any of her courtiers dared to say any thing to the queen's face, which this anonymous writer, near fifty years after her death, would be either ashamed or afraid to repeat.

A later writer makes such distinctions of Raleigh's extraordinary behaviour in this dispute, as if he had been at the council-table, and seen as well as heard him. And another, after them all, has found out the cause of this difference between them, to be captain Zouch's preferment.

But passing these over, our author, Naunton, goes on; and, though he does not determine, whether the lord Leicester had then cast in a good word for Raleigh to the queen; yet says, “ It is
 “ true, that he had gotten the queen's ear at a
 “ trice, and she began to be taken with his elo-
 “ cution, and loved to hear his reasons to her
 “ demands;

“ demands ; and the truth is, she took him for a
 “ kind of oracle ; which nettled them all ; yea,
 “ those he relied on, began to take this his sud-
 “ den favour for an alarm ; to be sensible of
 “ their own supplantation, and to project his ;
 “ which made him shortly after sing, Fortune my
 “ foe, &c.”

It is hinted to us somewhat more expressly, by another court-writer of those times, that the earl of Leicester befriended Raleigh (perhaps through his friendship with young Sidney, that earl's worthily beloved nephew) in his first advancement at court ; and that being willing, for his own ease, to bestow handsomely upon another some part of the pains, and perhaps of the envy, to which a long indulgent fortune is obnoxious, either brought or let him into that promising sphere of preferment ; where the earl soon found him such an apprentice as knew well enough how to set up for himself. So that, if the earl of Sussex, who was Leicester's antagonist, had any hand in Raleigh's rise, as some later writers of less authority have suggested, it seems to have been afterwards, when Raleigh's courtly splendor was somewhat obstructed ; and Leicester meant to allay it, by interposing the young earl of Essex ; for Raleigh continued, during that storm, in some lustre of a favoured man, like billows which sink but by degrees, even when the wind is down that first stirred them. But this we shall observe as we go on, that, in all the different aspects or conjunctions of interest, through the access or change of new favourites in this long reign, none were less immersed by the smiles of the court, in the luxuries and vanities of it, nor more animated by its frowns to the enterprising of public and superior difficulties for the honour

honour and aggrandisement of his country. Not that he set out to sea, but when he had despaired of railing himself on shore; for these public enterprizes were rooted so early in Raleigh's aspiring mind, that we perceive, even now, before factions at court could drive him from the land, or preferments and grants from the crown enable him for the sea; that he had built, at his own expence, to prosecute them, a strong handsome ship, which was named *Bark Raleigh*, of two hundred tons burden.

And now that the six years period of sir Humphrey Gilbert's patent grew short, four of them being elapsed, he thought it high time to make a new attempt in person, (since his assignments had proved of little consequence) at those discoveries he had before failed in, that he might confirm by experience what he had so excellently advanced in theory.

Accordingly, having fitted out a fleet of four ships, Raleigh also victualled and manned out his before-mentioned, which was the largest among them; and, in the quality of vice-admiral, set out to bear his brother Gilbert company, in this his last expedition to Newfoundland. The fleet departed from Plymouth on the eleventh of June, 1583.

My author, who was in this voyage, tells us, no cost was spared by Raleigh in provisions and necessaries for the happy accomplishment of it; yet that, in two or three days following, he returned greatly distressed to Plymouth, by reason his whole ship's company was infected with a contagious sickness. But, lucky to him, perhaps, was this visitation; since the voyage proved so fatal to those who went through it; particularly sir Humphrey himself;

himself; who, though he arrived in Newfoundland in the beginning of August following; took possession of the country, in right of the crown of England, by digging up a turf, and receiving it with a hazel wand, delivered to him according to our law and custom; also had assigned lands to every man in his company, and was got three hundred leagues in his way home again, with full hopes of the queen's assistance to fit out a fleet not only for the north, but one also for the south, next year; yet over-hardily venturing in a little frigate of ten tons burden, called the Squirrel, he was, on the ninth of September following, at midnight, in a high sea, swallowed up.

Another of the vessels, called the Delight, but few days before also suffered the same fate; and even the rest returned not without great hazard, hardship, and loss; "Teaching, says Camden, " that it is a more difficult matter to carry over " colonies unto remote countries upon private " men's purses, than he and others had persuaded " themselves, to their own loss and detriment; but " neither these unfortunate attempts by sea hither- " to, nor the ruin of sir Humphrey Gilbert's estate; " nor the loss of his life, nor the hardships of " all his company besides, could teach Raleigh " that lesson: these examples, and this experi- " ence, were so far from satiating, that they did " but sharpen his appetite to such honourable " dangers."

And, as we are assured, from family tradition, by a late author of his own name and lineage, that the discoveries of the great Columbus, the conquests of Fernando Cortez, the famous Francis Pizarro, and other leaders of the Spaniards, who, under the emperor Charles and his son Philip II. had made the greatest and most surprising additions to their empire, that ever prince received, or
subjects

subjects wrought, were the favourite histories that took up Raleigh's early reading and conversation while he was but a young man ; we may presume they so possessed his noble genius, with perhaps also some late domestic and living examples) that no little personal oppositions at home, or particular misadventures abroad, could ever discourage him from the pursuit of these grand and national undertakings.

But when, by his own observation, he found the Spaniards had only settled upon the middle and southern parts of America ; and, that there were certain vast territories yet unknown to the north of those lands, which the Spaniards already enjoyed, as fit perhaps for settlement, and as easy to conquer as any they did enjoy : and when, by his enquiries, among the most observant pilots and mariners who had sailed in the Spanish ship to the gulph of Mexico, many of whom he had opportunity to meet and discourse with in Holland and Flanders, he had learned that the Spaniards always went into the Gulph of Mexico by St. Domingo and the island of Hispaniola, where the currents with the trade-winds always ran together, and set into the bay ; that they always disembogued, as they called it, or came out by the Havannah, and the chanel of Bahama, which they now call the Gulph of Florida ; and that, as they returned by this gulph, they found a continued coast on the west side tending away north, which they generally lost sight of by standing away to the east, to make for the coast of Spain.

Raleigh, fully determined that there was a vast extent of land north of that gulph, or west from the coast of Spain, which might be well worth discovering ; and, after mature deliberation, fully resolved upon the discovery.

As

“ by another, he bemoaned himself to Raleigh,
 “ and asked his advice, what he should do to re-
 “ pair the wrong that had been offered him? Ra-
 “ legh answered, Why, challenge him — at a
 “ match of shooting.”

How long he continued at the university is uncertain. For, though sir Robert Naunton, and possibly from him most other writers of Raleigh's life, have also consigned him to the study of the law, on his leaving Oxford; there is a late author, who believes it a mistake so obvious, that no merit can reasonably be assumed from correcting it; for sir Walter, at his arraignment, in a reply to the attorney-general, lays a heavy imprecation upon himself, “ If ever he read a word of law or
 “ statutes before he was a prisoner in the Tower. So that if this Raleigh was the author of that poem before-mentioned, and of the Middle Temple in that year it was written, which we shall presently arrive at, we must yet take care to keep the lawyer clear from the Templar.

For, we are expressly told by Hooker, “ That
 “ after Raleigh had laid a good ground to build
 “ his actions on at the university, he travelled into
 “ France:” and this is confirmed by Camden, according to whose account, Raleigh could not be, at his departure, above seventeen years of age; and, by the occasion of his first going over, it will appear, that a military course of life first fledged his fame. For, as it has been rightly observed, Raleigh had the advantage of a stirring age to encourage and exercise his active genius, throughout the whole series of his first engagements.

France was now embroiled in civil wars; England soon after, to divert a menaced danger from the encroaching power of Spain, lent assistance to

the then distressed and humble States of Holland ; Spain, by a political reprisal, raised stubborn insurrections in Ireland ; and the pope, to make the rebellion more permanent, and more plausible, religiously pretended that kingdom was a perquisite of St. Peter.

But first of France : and here we need not recur to the original of those commotions there ; need not trace the Hugonots to their fountain-head ; apologise for their oppositions against the Guisards ; labour to reconcile queen Elizabeth's defence of another prince's oppressed subjects, to the laws of nations, when imminent danger, by such oppressions, threatened her own ; nor, lastly, aggravate her motives against France in particular, from their late violation of covenants, relating to the rendition of Calais ; these topics being to be sought where they have already been, and it is more proper they should be directly discussed. Sufficient therefore it will be, to observe in this place, out of Camden's Annals, that though the queen had her hands full of disorders at home, yet she was not wanting, either in commiseration or relief to the persecuted Protestants of France ; and not only exhorted other princes of the same persuasion to lend their hands to the common cause, but supplied the queen of Navarre with money and men to support it ; permitting Henry Champernon, a relation by marriage of the earl of Montgomery, to march with a select troop of a hundred gentlemen volunteers, well mounted and accoutred, into France ; who bore in their standard this motto : " *Finem det mihi virtus : Let*
" *valour decide the cause.*"

In the list of these volunteers, was Philip But-
lied, with Francis Barclay, men afterwards of note
in their time ; and this Walter Raleigh, the most
noted

noted of all, then a very young man, and first beginning to push his fortune in the world; "Ad-
" modum adolescens, jam primum satis monstra-
" tus," says our above cited Annalist.

The greatest historian in France of those times, tells us, this select troop of horse arrived in the French camp, on the fifth of October 1569, and that they were honourably received by the queen of Navarre and the princes. But what services distinctly they performed in France, or how long they continued there, neither the writers of that country, nor of our own, have, I think, given full satisfaction. This consequence we draw from some circumstances in the latter part of Raleigh's life, that he established himself a considerable reputation while he was in that kingdom; and, from Hooker, "That he spent good part of his youth
" in wars and martial services there:" agreeable to which, is that passage in another author, who also seems to have known him; where, speaking of his education, he adds, "It was not part, but
" wholly gentleman, wholly soldier."

Some French historians tell us, that what with the supplies of queen Elizabeth, who sent the French protestants a hundred thousand angels, besides some pieces of cannon and ammunition; and, what with the aids of their other allies, the protestant army, which took the field under admiral Coligny and the prince of Condé, and encamped about Limosin, this year of Raleigh's going over, being in the beginning of their third civil war, amounted to no less than twenty-five thousand fighting men; when the king's army under his brother the duke of Anjou, being encamped at Rochlabeille, amounted to above thirty thousand. But others reckon the protestant army of equal number; and observe, though their men and

horse died at Limosin in great numbers for want of food and forage ; and, though a great reward was offered for the admiral, dead or alive, that it only added fuel to the fire : for, what terror could it strike, says my author, into persons who headed an army of thirty thousand men, and ventured their lives with the utmost bravery on all occasions ? As for the the insincere league, or union of France and England, by the pretended marriage, which appears to have been negociated two years after between the two crowns ; it seems not to have withdrawn these English auxiliaries, at least not him along with them ; because Raleigh's continuance in France would then fall short of Hooker's implication aforesaid.

But, as we shall discover him to have been in that kingdom beyond the death of king Charles IX, which, from Raleigh's entrance thither, is about five years ; and that, in this compass of time, near thirty battles, sieges, overthrows, treaties, and capitulations, on one side or other, may be enumerated ; it is manifest, that our young volunteer was hazardously engaged in some, if not several of them.

He had afterwards occasion to mention, upon his observing here, the ill consequence of having commanders in equal power, whom it is almost impossible to chuse of equal courage and discretion.

In another place Raleigh speaks of a stratagem which he and his company used with success at Languedoc, where the enemy had fortified themselves in certain caves which had but one narrow entrance cut in the mid-way of the high rocks ; and “ which,” says he, “ we knew not how to enter by any ladder or engine ; till at last, by certain bundles of lighted straw, let down by
“ an

“an iron chain with a weighty stone in the midst,
 “those that defended it were so smothered, that
 “they surrendered themselves, with their plate,
 “money, and other goods therein hidden; or
 “they must have died like bees that are smoaked
 “out of their hives.”

And, in another place, he gratefully takes notice of a deliverance he had in these wars. It is where, reasoning upon the manner and opportunities of retreats in battle, he first gives an example of its being less honour to retire in the dark, than to be ruined in the light, in the sentiment of M. de la Noue, upon the retreat made just before the battle of Moncountour. “For,” says that Frenchman, “staying upon our reputation in shew, not to dislodge by night; we lost our reputation indeed, in dislodging by day; whereby we were forced to fight upon our disadvantage, and to our ruin:” “Yet, (says Raleigh) “did that worthy gentleman, count Lodowic of Nassau, brother to the late famous prince of Orange, make the retreat at Moncountour with so great resolution, as he saved one half of the protestant army, then broken and disbanded; of which myself was an eye-witness, and was one of them who had cause to thank him for it.”

But, by what means Raleigh escaped that comprehensive destruction, which broke out in the third year of this turbulent period, unless with young Sidney (afterwards a knight of great renown for his accomplishments, and the patronage of other men's, then upon his travels in France) he took sanctuary in the ambassador Walsingham's house, we despair, at this distance, of learning: for then the cruel and insidious young king aforesaid, inflamed by the queen-mother, and her fire-

brands of religion, perpetrated that horrible massacre of all the protestants in the capital city, and other parts of his realm ; the invitation to which was the nuptials of his sister : the signal to which was the bell they rung to their pious mattins ; and, in the execution whereof, among many thousands, fell the great admiral aforesaid, by the procurement of his implacable enemy the duke of Guise.

And, though the comet, which soon after glared out of the face of heaven upon these bloody actors for many months together, seems to have wrought little remorse or contrition in them during life ; yet is their untimely and violent end, with the extirpation of the very line of Valois, somewhat remarkable ; especially that of this king himself, whose early delight in hunting of wild beasts, thus improved to the slaughter of his fellow-creatures ; till in less than two years after that inhuman massacre, his insatiable thirst of his people's blood, was quenched by an irresistible extravasation of his own.

Now, that Raleigh was, till the death of that king, and even longer, in France, we may be fully convinced, from the further light I have fortunately met with, in an eminent author of his own time. For, Mr. Richard Hackluyt, in his most excellent collection of voyages, dedicating his translation of a French adventure therein to sir Walter Raleigh, tells him, That “ calling to mind you
 “ had spent more years in France than I, and un-
 “ derstand the French better than myself ; I per-
 “ ceived you approved my endeavour, not for any
 “ private ease, but for the special care you had of
 “ those to be employed in your own like enter-
 “ prize.” And how long Hackluyt had been in
 France,

France, appears in his dedication to sir Francis Walsingham of his first edition of those voyages; where he takes the occasion to tell his patrons, that himself had been five years in that kingdom; so that Raleigh must have been at least six years there.

And this will lead us near the time we are to look for him in London, if we take for our guide in the chronology of Raleigh's life, that copy of verses before-mentioned, which Anthony Wood took for his, in relation to Raleigh's profession. These verses I have found to be a commendatory poem of three stanzas, by Walter Rawely of the Middle-Temple, as he is there written; and printed among others, before a satire called, *The Steel Glass*, published in 1576, by a learned and ingenious poet of repute in those days, George Gascoigne, *esq.*

I have had the opportunity of seeing some original manuscripts of sir Walter Raleigh's writing, and his name written several times by his own hand, I shall not cavil at the pseudography thereof before the said printed copy of verses; because I could instance greater errors of the like nature, which yet have not excluded authors from the reputation of their compositions; but more especially, because there are some glimmering circumstances which render the writing of that piece by this our author probable to me; as namely, a kind of familiar dependency which that Gascoigne had upon the lord Gray of Wilton; as in the dedication of this, and some other of his works, is evident; under which nobleman, Raleigh will soon after appear to have served in the wars of Ireland.

Again, Gascoigne had led a life somewhat like Raleigh in foreign travel and military services.

Then it is to be noted, Gascoigne used the very motto under his picture, prefixed to that satire before-mentioned ; which, after his death, is so well known to have been assumed by, or appropriated to, Raleigh himself ; “ Tam Martii, quam “ Mercurio.” All which seem to shadow out the links, if not the perfect chain, of some acquaintance between them. But the poem itself, to me, discovers, in the very first line of it, a great air of that solid axiomatical vein, which is observable in other productions of Raleigh’s muse :

“ Sweet were the sauce would please each kind of
“ taste.”

And the whole middle of Hexastich, is such an indication of his own fortune or fate ; such a caution against that envy of superior merit, which he himself ever struggled with ; that it could proceed from no hand more properly than his own.

“ Tho’ sundry minds in sundry sort do deem ;
“ Yet worthiest wights yield praise to every pain :
“ But envious brains do nought, or light esteem,
“ Such stately steps as they cannot attain :
“ For who so reaps renown above the rest,
“ With heaps of hate shall surely be oppress’d.”

Lastly, As to the particular of his being at this time of the Middle-Temple, all we can conclude of it is, since he has so publicly and solemnly protested he never studied the law there ; that it might be as customary in the inns of court then, as it is now, for a young gentleman to be with a friend, or have the use of his chambers while he is out of town, or even have chambers of his own, rather than be confined to the singularities
of

of a family in lodgings, and never read a word of the law ; much less have any purpose to practise it.

His next stage of action was in the Netherlands, according to one of the writers of his life ; who tells us, he served under the prince of Orange, as a volunteer against the Spaniards ; making himself, in the Low-Countries, master of the art military ; and confirming, through the success of his first campaigns, his resolution to advance himself by arms, as the nobler and readier way to glory.

Sir Robert Naunton also intimates, that before he was in Ireland under the lord Grey, he was engaged in the Low-Countries, and also in a voyage at sea.

Another author likewise agrees in this Low-Countries service, and voyage at sea, before Raleigh was known at court.

But, the first of these two writers mentions an earlier expedition of Raleigh's in Ireland, before this of the Low-Countries, as his first exposure to a military life, being ignorant of all the time he passed in the French wars ; and the last fixes him in that first Irish expedition, under general Norris ; I apprehend them to be both mistaken ; the former, in that Raleigh appears not to have been twice against the rebels in Ireland, nor once at his first engagement in war ; and the latter, in that this Norris appears not to be in Ireland, when the course of Raleigh's employment will allow him to have been in that kingdom : but now there is room for Raleigh's being in the Netherlands, we find general Norris to be there too.

For the emperor Charles's natural son, Don John of Austria, a brisk, forward young man, flamed with the late victorious battle of Lepanto
against

against the Turks, and high in the pope's favour; being sent by his brother the king of Spain in the year 1577, governor of the Low-Countries, to divert his mind from higher views at home; and, having incurred the general odium of the States for his tyranny over them, no less than the jealousy of the English, for his treachery to this nation: queen Elizabeth thought the Dutch now more immediately needful of her notice; and more particularly from a discovery that had been made to her, some say, by the prince of Orange, of a vain project the said Don John had form'd, of rescuing the queen of Scots out of prison; and, by marriage with her, or the force of arms, to dethrone the queen of England, and make him master of her crown; "For Don John's haughty
 "conceit of himself," says Raleigh, "overcame
 "the greatest difficulties, though his judgment
 "was ever weak to manage the least."

Wherefore the queen not only receded from that peace with the Spaniards, and neutrality then in agitation; but sent the States both men and money, as they had requested, to carry on the war more powerfully against them.

Among the forces, both English and Scots, which now poured over, under sir John Norris, sir Robert Stewart, colonel John North, Henry Cavendish, and others, not to forget colonel Thomas Morgan, whose veteran troops were the first perfect Harquebusiers of our nation, and the first who taught us to like the musket; there is here, and here only, I think, a vacancy in the story of Raleigh, that will admit of him under the first of those commanders; so might he probably share in the danger and honour of that memorable Lammas-Day, anno 1578, which buried the reputation of Don John; which he did not two months survive;

survive ; and which has raised the emulation of pencils, as well as pens, to commemorate.

For the States having thus gathered a powerful army, and planted themselves near the village of Rimenant, about a league from Mecklin : Don John, at the head of, some say thirty thousand men, being assisted by the prince of Parma, Mondragon, and other the best commanders of Spain, now resolved to give them battle. He made a furious onset ; but, in the end, by a notable stratagem, was deluded to a great overthrow. For perceiving, as he thought, the whole confederate army encamped before the said village, in an open and inviting plain ; Don John precipitately detached a stronger force to encounter them ; which so succeeded on both sides, that the States army, after a convenient resistance, feigning a flight, quitted this their counterfeit camp, the Spaniards eagerly pursuing, in a scattered and disorderly manner, to compleat their supposed victory ; till, amazed, they found themselves in the midst of the fugitives true camp, environed with nineteen thousand horse and foot ; a number considerably greater than the assailants. To extricate themselves was impossible ; there was a river on one side ; when they attempted the thicket on the other, it was lined with an armed ambuscade of English and Scots ; and, when they assaulted the trenches, they could not sustain the fury of the artillery. Yet was the battle vigorously maintained from morning till night ; tho' the English and Scots, harassed by a long and tiresome march, came but a day, some say but an hour, to the field, before the encounter began ; and yet, partly thro' bravery, partly thro' the sultry warmth of the weather ; or, as one thor has it, more sensible of a little heat of the sun, than any cold fears of death, they made them-

themselves further remarkable, by stripping off armour and cloaths, and fighting in their shirts; till at last, those who had pursued the States army in a pretended flight, were themselves driven, with great slaughter, to a real one.

Soon after his brother sir Humphry Gilbert, having now newly obtained a patent of the queen to plant and inhabit some northern parts of America, unpossessed by any prince with whom she was in alliance, soon engaged Raleigh, upon his return into England, who was always ready to grasp at every occasion, that might reputably advance his fortune or his knowledge, to embark in this adventure. For, though the coasts, from the cape of Florida northward, to the isles now called the Newfoundlands, had been before discovered by John Cabot the father, with Sebastian and Sanctius his sons, both Englishmen, through the authority and expence of king Henry VII, yet there wanted not only more inland researches, and the establishment of Christianity, but the very trade and commerce with Newfoundland was very slothfully neglected, even since the reign of king Edward VI.

Gilbert having, as I said, procured an ample commission to repossess these advantages with improvement, many gentlemen of good account resorted to him, among whom was his brother Raleigh; so that from these preparations was expected a potent fleet. Nevertheless, among such variety of volunteers, dispositions were various; which, in the end, bred division, and even confusion of the attempt; for, after the shipping was by degrees prepared, and the men ready to go abroad; some disagreeing in opinion, some shrinking at obedience, and others failing of their promises and engagements, the greater number were
dispersed,

dispersed, leaving the general, with a few only of his assured friends. However, with these he ventured to sea; where, having tasted of no less misfortune, he was shortly after driven to retire home with the loss of a tall ship; and, more to his grief, of a valiant gentleman named Miles Morgan.

This misfortune at sea, and loss of a ship, with that valiant gentleman, I have not only reason to believe, was, by a sharp engagement they had with the Spaniards, however tenderly touched at that time, perhaps to avoid their triumph, but that Raleigh was in this very engagement, and his life in great danger.

For, there is another author, who, in his address to him before-mentioned, tells him, that after his return from his land services, having gained sufficient knowledge and experience therein; “to the end, that you might be every way
“able to serve your prince and commonwealth (says he) “you were desirous to be acquainted
“with the maritime affairs; then you, together
“with your brother Sir Humphry Gilbert, travelled the seas for the search of such countries,
“as, if they had then been discovered, infinite
“commodities, in sundry respects, would have ensued; and whereof there was no doubt, if the
“fleet then accompanying you had, according to
“appointment, followed you; or yourself had
“escaped the dangerous sea-fight, when many
“of your company was slain, and your ships there-
“with also sore battered and disabled.”

This ill success kept not these adventurers long abroad; and now new disturbances broke out which called for men of experience in war at home. For the first dart of any consequence, which was thrown from Spain or Rome upon Ireland, being in 1580, we shall then find Raleigh among that
body

body of his countrymen, which effectually broke its force, and shielded off the mischief wherewith it would otherwise have galled that kingdom.

For, as to the invasion of Thomas Stucley, two years before, it blew over into Africa; where that meteor of ostentation, and tool of ambitious princes, fell in the plains of Alcazar, and with royal company expired. But James Fitz-morris of the Geraldine family was come over, and not long after San Josepho, under the pope's banner, with Spanish and Italian forces, to assist the Desmonds in the Munster rebellion, and had landed in three ships at Smerwick in Kerry; where, having built a fort which they call'd Fort del Ore, and re-fortified it with the benedictions of Allen an Irish, and Sanders an English jesuit: the Irish rebels, under sir James and sir John, brothers to the late earlof Desmond, soon resorted thither to join, as the English forces also did to disperse them. Their ships were soon taken by Thomas Courtenay, a Devonshire gentleman; and Fitz-morris himself, for a prey he had made of some Garons and other cattle, was by sir William Burk and his sons soon slain, and his quarters exposed at Kilmallock.

The next, whose fate drew on, was sir James Desmond, who, on the fourth of August, in the above-mentioned year, having made an in-road upon Muskerry, and taken a great booty from sir Gormac Mac Teige, sheriff of Corke; the said sheriff making head against him, recovered the booty, wounded sir James mortally, and took him prisoner. In that condition he was kept, till by letters from the lord justice sir William Pelham, and the council, he was delivered to sir Warham Sentleger, then provost-marshal of Munster, and to captain Raleigh; and, according to the

the commission directed to them, he was examined, indicted, arraigned, and then, upon judgment, drawn, hanged, and quartered; and his head and limbs impaled upon the city gates of Corke, for a terror to his associates, and a prey for the fowls of the air. And this is the first appearance we meet with of Raleigh in Ireland, enough to shake the report of those who say he was a militia there, and had his first commission from Arthur lord Grey, baron of Wilton.

But the chief commander in these parts, at this time, was the earl of Ormond, soon after governor of Munster, a man of such loyalty, as to have reduced his rebellious brothers to allegiance; and of such courage, as constantly partaking in every danger with his own soldiers, made him much beloved by all his adherents; while his apparent contempt thereby of that danger, gained him no less fear from all his adversaries. He, on the other side, bending his course against the foreign enemy, encamped his army at Tralegh, within ken of the Spanish fort aforesaid: hereupon many of those invaders dislodged, whom the earl valiantly engaged, slaying some, and taking others prisoners; the rest flew to the coverts of Glanin-gell.

The prisoners he took, confessed their force was not above seven hundred strong; but that they had brought arms and ammunition for five thousand natives, besides a mass of money for the Desmonds and Dr. Sanders, and daily expected farther supplies from Rome; for it was absolutely determined by the pope and king Philip to make a compleat conquest of Ireland, and England besides; nay, so confident they seemed of success, if we can credit the assertion of an author who was this year in Spain, that his holiness had pro-
vided

vided a chalice to drink the queen of England's precious blood, says he, as soon as she should be made a sacrifice.

Now, after the aforesaid defeat, about three hundred of the enemy having made their way back to the fort, the earl followed them close, and encamped at Dingle; but wanting ammunition for a battery, was forced to retire. And, finding himself of unequal force to withstand another sally the Spaniards made, returned to join the deputy at Rakele; who having now about eight hundred horse and foot with him, under the conduct of captain Raleigh, Zouch, Denny, Mackworth, and others, decamped and marched up towards the fort. But Raleigh, who had observed it to be the custom of the Irish Kerns, upon any dislodgment of the English camp, to flock in parties thither, and glean away whatever they saw left behind; lingered, and lay in ambush to receive them. They came accordingly with their wonted constancy and greediness; but, in the midst of their proling, Raleigh fell upon them so advantageously, that he enclosed them all with his men, and took every rebel upon the spot, who was not slain in resistance.

Among them there was one laden with withies, who being demanded, What he intended to have done with them? boldly answered, To have hung up the English churls. Well, said Raleigh, but they shall now serve for an Irish kern; so commanded him to be immediately tucked up in one of his own neckbands; and dealt with the rest of these robbers and murderers according to their deserts.

We read of another Irish rebel, of greater rank, named Brian O Rourk; who being afterwards to suffer at the gallows, shewed great concern that
it

As soon as he had digested his proposal and, displayed the manner of prosecuting it in proper schemes, he laid them before the queen and council; to whom it appearing a rational, practical, and generous undertaking, her majesty was pleased, in the beginning of the year 1584, to grant him full power to enjoy such countries as he proposed to discover, by her letters patents.

Immediately upon the grant of this patent, Raleigh gave his instructions for an American voyage to captain Philip Amadas and captain Arthur Barlow, two experienced commanders, and had got **a couple of barks well furnished with men and provisions at his own expence, in such readiness, that, on the twenty-seventh day of April following, they departed from the west of England.**

The tenth of May they arrived at the Catarics, and a month after fell upon the isles of the West Indies, "**which, with the rest adjoining,**" says my author, one of those captains, "**are so well known to yourself,**" directing the account of this voyage to his proprietor, "**and to many others, that I will not trouble you with the remembrance of them.**"

In the beginning of July, they were saluted with a most fragrant gale from the land they were seeking, and soon after arrived upon the coast; but sailed along some six-score miles before they could find an entrance by any river issuing into the sea. At last discovering one, they manned out their boats to view the land adjoining, where they saw vines laden with grapes in vast abundance, climbing up the tall cedars, and spreading so luxuriantly along the sandy shore, that the sea often overflowed them.

On the thirteenth of July, they took possession in right of the queen, and afterwards delivered the country over to Raleigh's use.

They thought this land had at first been the continent, but found it afterwards only an island twenty miles long, called Wocoken; plentifully stocked with animals, groves of sweet-smelling trees, pulse, grain, and esculent roots. They observed along the coast, a tract of islands two or three hundred miles long; and passing between them, saw another great sea, twenty, forty, and, in some places, fifty miles over, before they could reach the continent; and, in this inclosed sea, above one hundred islands of various sizes whereof one is sixteen miles long, called Roanoak, and about seven leagues distant, up the river Occam, from the harbour they first entered; at which they chiefly settled while they staid, finding it so pleasant and fruitful as to yield three harvests in five months. But they remained upon the borders of Wocoken two days before they beheld a human creature; on the third, they saw a boat rowing towards them with three of the natives. One of them landed, and walked up the shore near their ship, for they were then on board; then the two captains, with some others, took their boat and rowed to land, and, by their courteous carriage, soon prevailed on the native to return with them on board; where they cloathed him, and gave him victuals, wine, and several little toys or utensils, which won the simple creature's heart. Soon after his departure he returned again with a boat full of fish, to be divided between the ship and the pinnace, and then he left them.

The next day came the king's brother Grangani-meo, with a great many attendants; for the king himself, who was named Wingina, from his large territories Wingandacoa, lay ill of the wounds he had lately received in war. His brother was highly pleased with his entertainment, and, having received

ceived several presents, soon after sent the savages to traffic with the English; also came again himself and exchanged twenty skins, worth as many nobles, for a tin dish, which he hung as a gorget about his neck, to defend him from the arrows of his enemies. Then also he brought his wife and children, with her attendants, forty or fifty in number.

She was well-favoured, but bashful, clad in a mantle of deer-skin, lined with fur, and a kind of apron of the same: her hair hung down long on each side, with a band of white coral about her forehead, and long bracelets of pearl down to her middle, as big as pease, in her ears; "a bracelet" whereof we delivered to your worship," says my author to Raleigh. Her husband's apparel was much like hers, only about his head he wore a broad plate of gold or copper; and his hair was long but on one side.

After this interview, familiar commerce passed between the natives and the English, who, when they went to Roanoak, were much caressed and treated by the lady aforesaid: and, when she could not prevail with them to stay, being but few in company, though the natives had no edge-tools of iron or steel, and had proffered a great box of pearl for some armour and a sword, she sent her women to watch them all night in their ships on the bank-side: and, indeed, all the people who saw them, admired much at their ships, their fire-arms, their cloaths, and, above all, their complexions; for, except a vessel which was cast away with some Christian adventurers about twenty-six years before near Secotan, the southernmost town in WINGANDACOA, never any people in apparel, or of fair colour, were seen or heard of among them; which

made them wonder so much at the whiteness of their skins, and so fond of seeing and touching them.

Under these favourable recommendations, and the distress which the natives were in for some powerful friends to defend them from the invasion of their neighbours, the promises of visiting them again, wherewith the English left them, after having learned as much of the situation, state and product of the country, as was at this time convenient, were very acceptable : so, bringing over a couple of the Indians with them, named Manteo and Wanchese, to shew them our fine country, they arrived safely in the west of England about the middle of September following.

When Raleigh had laid before her majesty these and all other reports most worthy of notice, of this rich, beautiful, and virgin country ; and had acknowledged how much this hopeful progress towards the possession of it was owing to the auspices of a virgin queen ; she was so well pleased with the honour and advantage it promised, and gave him such encouragement to compleat the discovery, which he forthwith prepared to do by another expedition, that she called it herself by the name of Virginia.

About two months after, he was elected a knight of the shire for the county of Devon ; sir William Courtenay being the other representative.

There was then a clerk of the parliament so very indolent, or otherwise indisposed, that the transactions of the house of commons at this time were very imperfectly recorded. Yet we find Raleigh mentioned to have been chosen of the committees upon some bills that were then read.

On the fourteenth of December following, the bill, in confirmation of his patent aforesaid, for the
the

the discovery of foreign countries, was read the first time. In the afternoon it was read the second time, and committed to the vice-chamberlain Hatton, secretary Walsingham, sir Philip Sidney, sir Francis Drake, sir Richard Greenfield (or Grenvill), sir William Courtenay, sir William Mohun, and others. Three days after, the said bill was, without any alteration, ordered to be engrossed. The next day it was read the third time, when it passed the house.

Between this time and the twenty-fourth of February following, he received the honour of knighthood; for, being then in a committee for considering after what manner and measure they should supply her majesty by subsidy. This is the earliest time I meet with of his being stiled sir Walter Raleigh; a title which her majesty bestowed, as all others of honour, with frugality and choice. Therefore was it a more certain cognizance of virtue or valour, than titles of more pompous denomination in the reign of her successor, who suffered lucre to corrupt the noble fountain, to turn it into vulgar channels, and drain it even to the dregs. Nay, that this honour was intended by that queen as the most significant testimony of personal desert, may be instanced, according to an ingenious observer of her reign, “in sir Francis Vere, a man nobly descended; and sir Walter Raleigh, exactly qualified,” says he, “with many others, set apart in her judgment for military services; whose titles she never raised above knighthood; saying, when importuned to make Vere a baron, That, in his proper sphere, and her estimation, he was above it already.”

About the time that her majesty granted Raleigh the patent above-cited for the discovery of remote

countries, she seems also to have given him another to licence the vending of wines throughout the kingdom, that he might be better able to sustain the great charges which the other brought upon him. There were no restrictions it seems in this patent from increasing the number of vintners in any part of the realm; and hence arose his controversy at this time with one of the universities: for Raleigh having, by virtue of that general patent given licence to one John Keymer to sell wine in Cambridge, some of the hotter heads, especially the other vintners there, among whom was Baxter, a 'squire beadle, licensed to sell wine by that university, opposed this Keymer and his wife with such violence, that she was likely to have died.

Complaint being made to Raleigh, he wrote a letter to "The worshipful Dr. Howland, vice-chancellor and the rest of the masters," to tell them how much he took this riotous demeanour as a contempt of the queen's grant to him; presuming, if he had given any unlawful privilege, the conference he had offered, by his deputies, for a quiet decision of the matter by a learned council between them, would have been accepted. Further telling them, that, if the abuse was not regulated, and the said Keymer permitted to enjoy the liberty granted him; he would take some other course for reformation therein; but resting assured they would use such means as might occasion no further trouble, he, not desiring to execute his grant to its extent among their vintners, who were the only disturbers herein, respecting more their own gain than quiet government, he only craves their answer, and that the riotous persons might not rest unpunished; so bids them heartily farewell; from his lodgings at the court, the ninth day

S L L

day of July, 1584; and subscribes himself, "Your
" very loving affectionate friend."

This producing no answer in seven months, and Raleigh having heard they continued to oppress Keymer; he wrote again; "To his loving friend
" the vice chancellor, &c." telling him, That, being by information persuaded, himself, with the grave and well-disposed of the university, were so grieved with the unseemly outrages lately committed by the young and unbridled heads thereof, to the contempt of the queen's prerogative and his discredit, as sufficient order had been taken for the bearer's quiet; which caused him to rest from requiring reformation therein at his good lord-treasurer's hands; who, as yet, understood nothing from him of these riots, through the goodwill he bore to their university; and, that he meant so to deal with them, for the other four, taverns, as should sufficiently have contented them: but his too favourable dealing with them had given such encouragement as, that, intended further to disturb the bearer, they had warned him to appear before them; with which they had persuaded him to comply.

Upon their sending no answer to this, and Raleigh hearing they had suddenly clapped up the man in prison, he sent, ten days after the last, his third letter from the court, directed "To the vice-
" chancellor, and the rest of the masters, &c." and herein tells them, He cannot a little marvel at their preremptory and proud manner of dealing. That he was content to use all manner of courtesy towards them in respect of his honourable good lord-treasurer; but perceived his reasonable, or rather too submissive dealing, had bred in them a proceeding unsufferable; having committed a poor man to prison, for doing nothing but what was warranted by the great-seal of England; which,

supposing they had a charter, he knew not that any man or society would so much take upon them to do before a trial. “As I reverence the place,” says he, “of which you are the governors, so I will not willingly take any wrong or disgrace from you.” But as he was assured the lord-treasurer would be indifferent in the case, and as the matter so much concerned the validity of his patent elsewhere, as well as in their university, he would try the utmost of his right as well for this one, where-with he was content to have been satisfied, as for all the other four. So thinking they would have vouchsafed him an answer to his last letters, he ends subscribing himself “Your friend, as you shall give cause.”

This roused them to some consideration, and soon after, a handsome apologetical letter was sent from the vice-chancellor to sir W. Raleigh, setting forth, that the hard opinion he had conceived of them for this matter, made them doubt what manner of answer they might address to him without offence; and that their silence was so ill taken, they knew not how their endeavours to excuse it might give him satisfaction: that they had not neglected any reasonable means to procure his favour for the quiet enjoyment of that whereof they had the fruition for above two hundred years; nor omitted to become petitioners to him in a very humble manner: that his counsel had not made any just exception against their charters; and those who had the hearing of the case, thought them to have the better warrant; yet, that he used such hard terms, as they little looked for at his hands; “being by birth a gentleman; by education trained up to the knowledge of good letters; instructed with the liberal disposition of a university, the fountain and nursery of all humanity;” and

“ and further, by God’s good blessing, advanced
 “ in court, from whence the very name of courtesy
 “ is drawn.” That the prejudice he apprehended
 from their example against his patent, was un-
 likely to fall out; since other places were not pri-
 vileged as the universities were. That her majesty’s
 grant, by her prerogative, gave him his title; and
 the like prerogative was the ground of their char-
 ters: and, as he would think it hard to have his
 patent impeached by an after-grant, they hoped he
 would with like equity, measure them, who were
 warranted to have the sole dealing with all vintners
 in Cambridge town, and the precincts thereof.

Touching the imprisonment of the party, whom
 he charged them with proceeding against before
 trial; and who, according to Mr. Brown’s promise
 to the lord-treasurer, was to have given over at
 Michaelmas last; however the course thereof had
 been otherwise reported to him, it was only at this
 time to correct his contempt in not appearing, be-
 ing lawfully warned, and refusing to answer before
 the ordinary judge, or enter bond for appearance
 when cause should require. That, for their own
 part, it would be no disadvantage whether he or
 other, one or many, were vintners there; but, in
 regard of the youth committed to their charge,
 duty bound them to consider who they admitted to
 keep taverns, the number whereof was also li-
 mitted; which, if they exceeded, would endanger
 their privileges; for the preservation whereof, as
 they had all taken a special oath, so they right
 humbly, oftsoons, beseeched him to have regard
 of them for their duties therein. Concluding thus,
 “ Whatever kindness you shall any way shew to
 “ the university; as the body thereof doth still
 “ continue, so the memory thereof cannot decay.
 “ There is not one of us, but you may readily
 “ com-

“ command wherein it may please you to employ
 “ us; only we pray you, and that in the heartiest
 “ manner, to vouchsafe us your favour in matter of
 “ our privileges; that we may leave them in no
 “ worse estate to posterity, than we received them
 “ of our predecessor. Thus, desiring God so to
 “ direct you with his blessed spirit, as may be most
 “ to his glory, and your greatest comfort, we take
 “ our leave; from Cambridge.

This might probably pacify Raleigh at present, both for their neglect in not answering his letters, and their forwardness in imprisoning the man; till the difference was a few months afterwards accommodated by the lord-treasurer, who was chancellor of that university.

The parliament being soon after, on the twenty-ninth of March, 1585, prorogued, Raleigh appears several ways engaged, in the laudable improvements of navigation. For his brother Adrian Gilbert of Sandridge, afterwards knighted in pursuance of the arguments laid down by his brother sir Humphrey, having been at great charges in finding out the northern passage to China and the Moluccas; and, in consideration thereof, been granted a patent by the queen two years before this time, to pursue the discovery by partners, under the title of, “ The colleagues of the fellowship for the discovery of the north-west passage;” Raleigh was now one of the associates in this enterprize; and, after having duly consulted about the likeliest means to succeed, and liberally contributed towards the expence, they chose captain John Davis, an experienced navigator, to undertake the enterprize.

He set out first upon it this summer from Falmouth in two barks. When he came to land sixty-six degrees forty minutes latitude, he anchored in
 a very

a very fair road, under a brave mountain ; which, for the splendid appearance it made, the cliffs thereof being as orient as gold, they named Mount Raleigh, in honour of their proprietor ; and soon after fell into the very passage they sought, since well known by the name of Davis's Streights. The farther search whereof, through the same patronage and support, captain Davis made in two voyages more ; the two following years, and in a manner completed the said discovery,

Camden has remembered, that by the Virginia colony, the famous American plant called tobacco was first brought into England, by or under governor Lane, doubtless according to the instructions they had received of their proprietor ; for the introduction among us of that commodity is generally ascribed to Raleigh himself.

There are some pleasant stories of this plant, with relation to him, which have been as carefully preserved as the box he kept it in.

Being at Leeds, in Yorkshire, soon after Mr. Ralph Thoresby, the antiquary, died, anno 1725, I saw his musæum ; and in it, among other rarities, what himself has publicly called, in the catalogue thereof annexed to his antiquities of that town, sir Walter Raleigh's tobacco-box. From the best of my memory, I can resemble its outward appearance to nothing more nearly than one of our modern muff-cases ; about the same height and width, covered with red leather, and opened at top, but with a hinge, I think, like one of those. In the inside, there was a cavity for a receiver of glass or metal, which might hold half a pound or a pound of tobacco ; and from the edge of the receiver at top, to the edge of the box, a circular stay or collar, with holes in it to plant the tobacco
about,

about, with six or eight pipes to smoke it in. This travelling box, with the manuscript, medals, and other rarities in its company, descending to a young clergyman, the son of the deceased, was soon after reported to have been translated to London.

But the tradition of “Raleigh’s smoking tobacco at first privately in his study, and of the servant, who used to wait on him there, surprising him one time with his tankard of ale and nutmeg, as he was intent upon his book before he had done his pipe; and seeing the smoke recking out of his mouth, threw all the ale in his face, then running down stairs alarmed the family with repeated exclamations, that his master was on fire, and, before they could get up, would be burnt to ashes.” This, I say, if true, has nothing in it of more surprising or unparalleled simplicity, than there was in that poor Norwegian, who, upon the first sight of roses could not be induced to touch though he saw them grow, being so amazed to behold trees budding with fire: or, to come closer, by way of retaliation, than there was in those Virginians themselves, who, the first time they seized upon a quantity of gunpowder which belonged to the English colony, sowed it for grain, or the seed of some other vegetable in the earth, with full expectation of rearing a plentiful crop of combustion by the next harvest, to scatter their enemies.

But passing over these tales, as Raleigh was the first who brought this herb in request among us, and laid the foundation for that great traffic therewith, which has been of such considerable benefit to his country, there is no less honour due to him than has been conferred on that ambassador, who had before brought it out of Portugal into France, where, in mentioning the herb, they pay
grateful

grateful acknowledgments to the importer, by calling it *Nicotiana*, after his own name : nay, his politic sovereign, Catherine de Medicis, did so zealously encourage the use of it, that it was also afterwards in honour of her called the *Queen's Herb*. Nor was the queen of England backward in listening to, and promoting the advantages it was promised to produce.

We may gather from some authors, that she was very curious to know its virtues and properties ; and that once conversing with Raleigh upon this subject, “ He assured her majesty he had so well “ experienced the nature of it, that he could tell “ her of what weight, even the smoke would be “ in any quantity proposed to be consumed. Her “ majesty, fixing her thoughts upon the most im- “ practicable part of the experiment, that of “ bounding the smoke in a ballance, suspected “ that he put the traveller upon her, and would “ needs lay him a wager he could not solve the “ doubt : so he procured a quantity agreed upon “ to be thoroughly smoked ; then went to weigh- “ ing, but it was of the ashes ; and, in the con- “ clusion, what was wanting in the prime weight “ of the tobacco, her majesty did not deny to have “ been evaporated in smoke ; and further said, “ That many labourers, in the fire she had heard “ of who, turned their gold into smoke, but Ra- “ legh was the first who had turned smoke into “ gold.”

To this we may here add the testimony of Camden ; who, speaking of this undertaking of Virginia, at the return of the last colony sent thither by sir Walter Raleigh, says, “ He was a man never “ to be sufficiently commended for the great “ pains he took in discovering remote countries, “ and

“ and advancing the glory of the English navigation.”

That Baffimerus was the learned Martine Bassaniere of Paris, with whom Richard Hakluyt, the worthy collector of our naval adventures, being acquainted, and having procured a very valuable history in manuscript of the first discovery of Florida, about twenty years before this time, by Rene Laudonniere, and three other French captains, he sent it over to Monsieur Bassaniere, who published it from the said French copy, this year at Paris, and dedicated it, as aforesaid, to sir Walter Raleigh, who, as appears above, was therein celebrated. But it was translated into English the year following by Richard Hakluyt himself, who also dedicates it anew to the same patron : and, indeed, we find Raleigh from this time a very considerable patron of learned and ingenious authors, not only in history and geography, but antiquities, chymistry, poetry, and other branches of art and science ; for admiral Coligny having sent over, with the aforesaid discoverers of Florida, a very skilful artist from France, to take draughts of whatever he found observable and worthy of representation in the said country : which he did, not only among the animal and vegetable rarities thereof, but also it seems, from the customs of the natives and historical events among the discoverers themselves. This painter living afterwards in London, at, or before the publication of those discoveries, was supported by Raleigh in the great expence of publishing also his draughts and descriptions. For Hakluyt, among other reasons for not particularizing the commodities of those parts ; the accidents of the Frenchmen’s government therein ; the causes of their good and bad success ; with the surprizes

surprizes made by their enemies, tells Raleigh he does not reckon them up again; “ the rather, because the same, with divers other things of chiefest importance, are lively drawn in colours at your no small charges, by the skilful painter James Morgues, sometime living in Black-Friars, London, whom Monsieur Chastillon, then admiral of France, sent thither (to Florida) with Laudoniere for that purpose; which (painter) was an eye-witness of the goodness and fertility of those regions, and hath put down in writing many singularities, which are not mentioned in this treatise; and which he hath since published, together with the portraitures.’

To this we may further add, that there was about this time also another book, dedicated to Raleigh, in praise of music, wherein, besides its antiquity and dignity, is declared, that the use of the same is lawful in the congregation and church of God.

About this time it was, her majesty conferred upon him some preferments; but of honour more than profit perhaps to him: for Hooker, in the dedication of his Irish history, dated the twelfth of October this year, inscribes it to the right worthy and honourable gentleman, sir Walter Raleigh, knight, seneschal of the duchies of Cornwall and Exeter, and lord-warden of the Stannaries in Devon and Cornwall.

To these dignities, it is to be supposed, he was then but newly advanced; because the said historian, in the body of the dedication, begs leave to remember, “ How it hath pleased God to bring you, says he, into the favour of your prince and sovereign; who, besides her great favour towards you many ways, hath also laid upon you the charge of a government in your own country; try;

“ try ; where you are to command many people
 “ by your honourable office of the stannary, and
 “ where you are both a judge and a chancellor to
 “ rule in justice, and to judge in equity.”

How Raleigh used this favour, and what usage it also procured him, the same dedication discovers further in these words. “ It is well known,
 “ that it had been no less easy for you, than for
 “ such as have been advanced by kings, to have
 “ builded great houses, purchased large circuits,
 “ and to have used the fruits of princes favours,
 “ as most men, in all former and present ages
 “ have done ; had you not preferred the general
 “ honour and commodity of your prince and
 “ country before all that is private ; whereby you
 “ have been rather a servant than a commander to
 “ your own fortune.”

The earl of Essex had now been near a twelve-month abroad, under his father-in-law, Leicester, governor of the Netherlands ; was but nineteen years of age when he went over, being his first engagement in any public action, yet no less than a general of the horse ; and, before that, as himself says, “ He had small grace, and few friends
 “ at court.” So that it must be now, after their return, that Leicester set him up a competitor against Raleigh, as we are before informed out of sir Henry Wotton.

But Leicester, as great as his power was, could no more bridle the reflections of the populace than Raleigh ; an instance whereof we have from some ancient authority, it seems, though in a modern author, who, speaking of Tarleton, the best comedian of these times in England, tells us, “ that
 “ when a pleasant play he had made was acting
 “ before her majesty, he pointed at sir Walter
 “ Raleigh, and said, See the knave commands the
 “ queen ;

“ queen ; for which she corrected him with a
 “ frown ; yet he had the confidence to add, that
 “ he was of too much and too intolerable a power ;
 “ and, going on with the same liberty, he reflect-
 “ ed on the over-great power and riches of the
 “ earl of Leiceſter ; which was ſo univerſally ap-
 “ plauded by all who were preſent, that ſhe
 “ thought fit, at that time, to bear theſe reflec-
 “ tions with a ſeeming unconcernedneſs ; but yet
 “ was ſo offended, that ſhe forbade Tarleton and
 “ all her jeſters from coming near her table, being
 “ inwardly diſpleaſed with this impudent and un-
 “ reaſonable liberty.”

Raleigh ſeems to have little regarded theſe aſper-
 ſions, but conſtantly attended his public charge
 and employments, whether in town or country,
 as occaſion called him. Accordingly we find him,
 the latter end of this year in parliament, where,
 among other weighty concerns, the fate of Mary
 queen of Scots was determined.

Raleigh, reſolving to perſevere in planting his
 country of Virginia, prepared a new colony of
 one hundred and fifty men to be ſent thither, un-
 der the charge of Mr. John White, whom he ap-
 pointed governor, and with him twelve aſſiſtants
 of the city of Raleigh in Virginia.

Their fleet, conſiſting of three ſail, departed
 from Portſmouth on the twenty-fixth of April,
 1587, and in leſs than three months following, ar-
 rived ſafe at Hatorask from whence they went to
 the Iſle of Roanoak to look for the fifteen men
 left there by ſir Richard Greenvil the year before,
 meaning from thence to paſs to the bay of Cheſe-
 piock, where they intended to make their ſeat and
 fort, according to the charge given them by ſir
 Walter Raleigh. But, when they came to the
 north part of the iſland where governor Lane had

built his fort, they found it razed, and the ground-rooms of the dwelling-houses, which had been also erected about it, inhabited by deer, and overgrown with melons, or such like sort of fruit, which those animals broozed upon.

At Croatoan they were very well received and entertained by the natives, thro' the means of Manteo their countryman. Of these they learnt, that the Englishmen they were seeking, had been treacherously set upon by a party of the savages, who wounded some of them, and drove the rest to some remote and obscure parts of the country.

On the thirteenth of August, their friend Manteo was, according to the commands of sir Walter Raleigh, christened in Roanoak, and called lord thereof, and of Dasamonguepeuk, in reward of his faithful services.

Three days after, the governor's daughter Eleanor, wife of Ananias Dare, one of the assistants, was delivered of a daughter in Roanoak; and the infant was christened there the Sunday following, who, because she was the first Creolian, or Christian born in that country, was baptized by the name of Virginia.

Having re-established their interest and alliance with the natives, as far as this short interview would permit, and delivered their ships of the provisions for the colony, the planters began to consider, they should be in want of fresh supplies; therefore, upon some difference about chusing a factor to return for that purpose into England, they unanimously petitioned the governor to return himself; to which he at last consented, and the ships, with some few of the company, arrived in England, not without storms, sickness, and the death of several of them by other like casualties, about the latter end of the same year.

It

It was but five days after this second colony, set sail that Mr. Richard Hakluyt dedicated his translation of the voyages to Florida, before-mentioned, to the right honourable sir Walter Raleigh, as he styles him, captain of her majesty's guard, lord warden of the stannaries, and her highness's lieutenant-general of the county of Cornwall.

In this dedication it will, in some measure appear, that neither the returns, which might have been made by any mercantile products in Virginia, nor the profits arising to him from any Spanish prizes, which had been taken at sea, were equivalent to the great expences he had been at, in settling this plantation; and further, that he had received no particular or private assistance in this enterprize from the queen, because his hopes therein, and her majesty's regard thereof, are so handsomely excited by the said author.

But the ships, in which this second colony was transported, had not been many days returned into England, before we find Raleigh's thoughts diverted, for awhile, from planting in a foreign country, and engaged upon schemes of displanting, rather those powerful enemies, who were preparing to root themselves in his own. For the rumour grew stronger every day, of a such a mighty fleet threatening us, as if all Spain and Rome were to land upon our little island, and over-run the whole kingdom.

The queen and her privy-council therefore no longer delayed all proper means for the defence of the realm; but, out of all her commanders by land and sea, appointed those of most approved abilities in naval and military affairs, as well as of the greatest authority in their respective counties, to hold consultations for the security of her person, her people, and their possessions.

And, as there were such consultations distinctly held by the most ancient and experienced commanders at sea; so we find, by the like appointment, a council of war also held, on the twenty-seventh of November this year, by others in the highest esteem for their knowledge, how to put the forces of the realm in the best order, to withstand any invasion by land. For this purpose were chosen the lord Grey, sir Francis Knolles, sir Thomas Leighton, sir Walter Raleigh, sir John Norris, sir Richard Greenvil, sir Richard Bingham, sir Roger Williams, and Ralph Lane, esq.

Besides this grand scheme for the safeguard of the kingdom in general, Raleigh seems to have had some special regard to several particular places. For there has been found among the lord Burghley's papers, "A remembrance for the lord-treasurer, touching the request of sir W.R." dated it seems this year; which makes request for five pieces of brass cannon lying at Woolwich; also for letters to the marquis of Winchester, lieutenant of Dorsetshire, for a hundred men and arms to defend the castle and island of Portland, with a supply of powder, there being but one last.

Further, for removal of the unserviceable ordnance there to London; and, that the lord marquis would give order for his said hundred men, by his commission directed to the lieutenant of Portland; and he will undertake to collect able men, not of the trained number. Lastly, for his lordship's good remembrance for the towns of Weymouth and Melcomb-Regis.

From whence my author is not only inclined to believe this paper was sent by sir Walter Raleigh, but that he was now governor of Portland-castle, and had those towns under his care. We may indeed hence believe this paper was written by him; and

and that he not only took those places, but several others, under his consideration, that they might be put in the best state of defence; but that he was now governor of Portland-Castle, or limited to the defence of that place at the time of the invasion, as might be implied from this author, seems not very consistent with his lieutenancy in the West.

But, as much engaged as Raleigh seems at this time to have been for the safety of the kingdom, he found some interval to consider also upon means for the relief of his colony; for, after governor White returned, and had delivered him his letters, with other advertisements concerning his late voyage, and the state of the planters in Virginia, Raleigh immediately appointed a pinnacle to be sent thither, with all such provisions as he apprehended they might want; and also wrote letters to them, promising that he would prepare a good supply of shipping and men, with all other necessaries, to be with them the summer following. This pinnacle and fleet he accordingly prepared at Biddeford in the west of England, under the command of sir Richard Greenvil; and all things being now ready, they waited only for a fair wind.

In the mean time, the alarm so increased throughout all England, of that vast and formidable armament made by the king of Spain, under the sanction of the pope's crusade, for the invasion and conquest of the whole island; that most of the ships of war, then in any readiness, received orders from the state to attend in their harbours for the defence of their own country; and sir Richard Greenvil was personally commanded not to depart out of Cornwall. Governor White, nevertheless, laboured so earnestly for the relief of the colony, that he obtained two small pinnaces,

called the Brave and the Roe, wherein fifteen planters, and all convenient provisions for those who wintered in the country, were transported; but the names of the captains who commanded those vessels are not remembered.

On the twenty-second of April, 1588, they put over the bar at Biddeford, and the same night came to an anchor at the Isle of Lundy; but the company, minding more to make a gainful voyage than a safe one, run in chase of prizes; till at last one of them was met with by a couple of strong men of war of Rochelle, about fifty leagues to the north-east of Madeira; where, after a bloody fight, the English were beaten, boarded and rifled. But it is observable, the French men were so immoderate in possessing themselves of their spoil, that, by overloading the boats with the freight of the English ships, they sunk what they were too eager to share. In this maimed, ransacked, and ragged condition, the said ship returned to England in a month's time; and about three weeks after returned the other, having perhaps suffered as much, at least, without performing the intended voyage; to the distress of the planters abroad, and displeasure of their patron at home.

In the mean time the king of France sent queen Elizabeth a message, assuring her, that the tempest, which had been gathering in Spain for three years, would certainly break very speedily upon her kingdom: therefore advised her to make the best preparation she could for its defence. Nor did the king of Spain keep it now any longer a secret, having this year published at Lisbon an ample and ostentatious account of this Invincible Armada, as the Spaniards themselves had called it; wherein it appears, the whole fleet consisted of one
hundred

hundred and thirty, or according to Sir Walter Raleigh and Hugo Grotius, one hundred and forty sail; some few tenders, or others, joining them by the way, being perhaps omitted in the Spanish list: carrying, by the generality of accounts, above 2,600 pieces of brass and iron ordnance; near nineteen thousand soldiers; between eight and nine thousand sailors, besides officers, priests, galley-slaves, servants, and other attendants; amounting in all to about thirty thousand persons; or, according to the confession of Don Diego Pimentelli, one of their own commanders, who was driven into Zealand, the whole fleet, army, &c. were no less than thirty-two thousand men; and cost the king of Spain thirty thousand ducats every day. The general of this mighty navy was the duke of Medina Sidonia, knight of the Golden Fleece; and John Martinez de Ricalde was chief admiral.

In Flanders, the prince of Parma was also making great preparations to join this armada; had gathered up an army consisting of more than one hundred, some say two hundred companies of foot, and four thousand horse, and was very busy in making rafts, ferry-boats, floating bridges, portcullices, gabions, and what not?

Nor were they idle in England; for how well the directions of the council of war aforesaid were put in execution, and how far Raleigh may be presumed to have been engaged among the most indefatigable in this service, is to be inferred from the words of that author, who says, “ In a very short time the whole kingdom, and every corner, were speedily furnished with armed people on horseback and on foot; and those continually trained, exercised, and put into bands

“ in such warlike manner, as in no age ever was
 “ before in this realm.”

And, a little further, “ That all concurred in
 “ one mind, to be in readines to seive for the
 “ realm ; and some one country was able to make
 “ a sufficient army of twenty thousand men fit to
 “ fight, and fifteen thousand of them well armed
 “ and weaponed , and, in some countries, the
 “ number of forty thousand able men, that the
 “ maritime countries from Cornwall all along
 “ southward to Kent, and from thence eastward
 “ to Lincolnshire, were so furnished with soldiers,
 “ both of themselves, and with resort from their
 “ next shires, as there was no place to be doubt-
 “ ed for landing of any foreign forces, but there
 “ were within forty-eight hours to come to the
 “ place above twenty thousand fighting men on
 “ horseback and on foot, with all manner of am-
 “ munition, provision, and carriages, under the
 “ principal nobles of the countries, and captains
 “ of the greatest knowledge.”

Besides these armies for the maritime countries, the city of London exercised before the queen ten thousand men, and had several thousands more in readines; that there was also two great armies raised, whereof one was encamped at Tilbury in Essex, between the city and the mouth of the Thames, consisting of twenty-two thousand foot and a thousand horse, under the command of the earl of Leicester.

The queen reviewed this camp several times, dined, made orations in it, and lodged in the borders of it. The other army, consisting of thirty-four thousand foot and two thousand horse, commanded by the lord Hunsdon, was planted about the queen's own person. And it encreased daily by the several bands and troops, which were
 led

led from the inland counties by such noblemen, knights, and gentlemen, as had no special charge or government in their respective counties; while the young earl of Essex, and others among them, entertained her majesty with tiltings and tourneys, barriers, mock-fights, and such like arts, as in public are used to render men popular.

But the lieutenants of the maritime counties were otherwise employed. And, as the earl of Pembroke had been assiduous in levying the forces of Wilts and Somersetshire, and the earl of Bath those of Devonshire; so Raleigh seems to have been no less forward and industrious in raising and reducing those of Cornwall to the best order and discipline for the service of his country, against the common enemy; notwithstanding what he might have done, as has been said before, at Portland: and, like the rest of the lords-lieutenant, to have sent up constantly his certificates to the queen of the numbers that were assembled; the posture they were in; the provisions they were supplied with; or those whereof they stood in need.

But notwithstanding all these land-preparations, which moved some speculative warriors at court to think a sea force unnecessary, as if the English were able to cut the Spaniards to pieces in landing, or when they were ashore, and seize their ships at the same time; sir Walter Raleigh knew better what another kingdom might do, even against England, by the advantage of a fleet, if we have none; no man having so solidly resolved as himself that weighty question, “Whether England, without the help of a fleet, is able to prevent an enemy from landing?” He knew that ships, without putting themselves out of breath, will easily out-run the soldiers that coast them: he

he knew that a fleet, after sun-set, may be seen at the Lizard, and by the next morning at Portland, which an army should be six days in marching; and consequently, that the sailor may chuse his landing-place, where there are no soldiers that can oppose him: and, even supposing an invader should offer to land near the place where our greatest army was ready to receive him, Raleigh doubted, when the choice of all our trained-bands and of officers were drawn together, as at Tilbury, to attend the person of the queen, and to defend the city of London, whether those that should remain to guard the coast could be of any such force as to encounter an army like that which the prince of Parma should have landed in England.

By sea therefore all possible defence was likewise made, and the chief command was very properly conferred on the lord-admiral Howard, who, hearing the Invincible Armada was upon the point of hoisting sail, sent sir Francis Drake, his vice-admiral, with fifty-six ships well appointed, to the western parts, and himself arrived there on the twenty-third of May, with more, which made up the fleet about a hundred sail; while the lord Henry Seymour was sent to lie with forty English and Dutch ships (according to Camden) between Dover and Calais, to intercept the prince of Parma.

The Invincible Armada loosed anchor from Lisbon four days before; but met with such storms, sickness, and other disasters, that the lord-admiral put forth towards Spain, in hopes of surprising them in their distress; till more maturely considering they might pass by undiscovered, he returned to Plymouth, and suffered his men to relieve themselves on shore.

The queen had received such assurance they were so disabled from coming this year by that storm,

form, that she made secretary Walsingham send for four of her first-rate ships to be brought home to Chatham. But their return was prevented by the intelligence which captain Thomas Fleming brought into the harbour on the nineteenth of July, that he had discovered the enemy approaching from the Lizard-Point in Cornwall.

The captains and commanders were then, it seems, at bowls upon the Hoe at Plymouth; and the tradition goes, that Drake was eager to see the game up; but was soon prevailed on to go and play out the rubbers with the Spaniards. All hands were now at work to warp out the ships, which, with the admirable industry of the seamen, was very speedily performed, the wind blowing stiffly into the haven from the south-west.

The lord-admiral, with the few he could then get ready, lay all night in the road. Next day, about fifty or three-score more joined him, and at noon they ken'd the Spanish fleet; some with lofty turrets and decks rear'd one above another; and others rowed along with two or three hundred oars a-piece; all advancing with their Spanish gravity, the wind being abated, in a semi-circular order, and extended seven miles from end to end.

The English suffered them all to pass by, so got the advantage of the wind, when they began to chase them in the rear; nor did the Spaniards offer to land at Plymouth, their commission being to join the prince of Parma, and sail directly to London.

The next day, which was the twenty-first of July, the lord-admiral sent out a pinnace called the *Defiance*, and begun the fight. This, it is apprehended, was near the Eddystone; for there we have account of the first conflict, and of the first Spanish ship that was taken or sunk. Then
the

the lord-admiral, in the Ark-Royal, Drake in the Revenge, with Hawkins, Forbisher, and others, having kept a constant fire upon the enemy for two hours together, withdrew, forty of their ships not being yet come up.

In this engagement, the Spaniards, by endeavouring to circle in and shelter one of their disabled galleons, she had her foremast broken, and was left behind, which Drake took the next day, with Don Pedro de Valdez, and other nobles in her, besides fifty-five thousand ducats, which were shared among his sailors. Immediately after, another of their greatest ships was set on fire, with all the people in her, and yet the powder escaped.

But how the lord-admiral, all the first night, followed the Spanish lanthorn, instead of Drake's into their fleet, while Drake, at the same time, was making another mistaken pursuit; and how the Ark-Royal followed the Spanish fleet also the second night, so far, almost alone, that it was the afternoon following before the English fleet overtook her; with other particulars, we leave to the more ample accounts of this engagement, in order to attend the motions of sir Walter Raleigh; who, from being at first the nearest, now growing impatient at being the most remote from the enemy, appears to have committed his charge by land to proper officers, or detached part thereof to march up nearer the Spaniards, and, with a gallant company of nobles and gentlemen, in several ships, to have joined the English fleet; that is to say, on the twenty-third of July, when the Spanish fleet was advanced over-against Portland; where, this whole day being one continued engagement from morning till night, it proved the most general and bloody fight of any between them in the British channel; and here, after the
taking

taking of a great Venetian ship, and others of lesser bulk, the Spaniards were driven from all intention of assaulting the English, till they had joined the prince of Parma ; for, during this fight, the English navy increased ; and, from all the havens of the realm, ships and men resorted to it ; for they all, with one accord, came flocking thither (to Portland) as to a set field, where immortal fame and glory was to be attained, and faithful service to be performed to their prince and country.

In which number, having mentioned the earls of Oxford, Northumberland, and Cumberland, he also names sir Walter Raleigh, among the foremost of near twenty other knights and gentlemen, whereby the English ships were augmented to one hundred sail ; and doubtless, by some of those Camden mentioned to have been left behind in Plymouth-Sound, with which Raleigh very probably advanced.

These, ever asunder, and always in motion, served on every side to annoy the enemy ; now presenting a broad-side, and sheering off ; then tacking about, and discharging the other ; in such sort, that sir Henry Wotton called it a morrice-dance upon the waters, while the sluggish and unweildy castles of the enemy clustered and hampered together, could only offer offence from one disabled side ; and that, when they had done, flew over the Englishmen's heads.

Camden tells us, that in this day's engagement, the lord-admiral was advised by some of his officers, with more heat than discretion, to grapple with and board the enemy.

Now Raleigh, having made some excellent animadversions upon this very circumstance, goes nigh to prove out of his own words, that he was not only in this day's engagement, ; but, that
the

the counsel he might thence appear to have given, greatly contributed to the success of it. He has shewn how well he knew, that in such case the advantage of weapons would be likeliest to carry it, whereof the enemy was provided with far the greatest number: also, that in such close fight, how liable the lesser ships were to be crushed by the greater; that these, by their very height, must have further advantage over those that endeavoured to board them from below: and lastly, in these of more bulk and breadth, being also more firm and more steady, those who could best keep their feet, would probably be best able to use their hands.

Next day the Spaniards were glad to lie by, and the English no less pleased with the cessation, that they might take the opportunity of sending to shore for a recruit of ammunition; and this, being a circumstance taken notice of also by Raleigh himself, further confirms his having been now among them.

The twenty-fifth of July, the English had another sharp engagement with the Spanish admiral, and the three great galleasses at the Isle of Wight, in which Camden mentions the taking of a Portuguese galleon; and that, from this time the galleasses durst not venture upon any new engagement; but, closing themselves up again in a rundel, as they called it, made the best of their way to tell the prince of Parma how they had been treated. The English fleet followed, and kept playing upon their rear all the next day, having determined to forbear any closer engagement till they came to the British Frith, or Streights of Calais, where the lord Seymour expected their arrival.

But,

“ But, so far was this Invincible Armada from
 “ alarming the sea-coasts, says Camden, that the
 “ English gentry of the younger sort entered them-
 “ selves volunteers, and, leaving their friends and
 “ families, did, with incredible chearfulness, hire
 “ ships at their own charge, and in pure love to
 “ their country, joined the grand fleet in vast num-
 “ bers.”

And here Camden names those nobles and some
 of those gentlemen, with Raleigh among them,
 who composed the squadron before-mentioned, as
 if it entered but now from Dover, or some of
 those ports; not that he confines their entrance to
 this day, otherwise than naming them under it,
 or any other way suggests, they did not join the
 grand fleet three days before; but seems, by re-
 membering them in this place, to have believed
 they were most conspicuous, or in greatest number
 at this time, unless he postponed the mention of
 them to a day, that was least thronged with cir-
 cumstances of action.

Indeed, that this noble squadron of volun-
 teers was united to the queen's navy, when such
 valiant services were performed against the Spa-
 niards in the great fight before Calais, another
 writer also, greatly to their commendation agrees;
 but neither is he so expressive as to satisfy us it
 was the first appearance they made; and that they
 were not before at Portland. For, having men-
 tioned the earls of Cumberland, Northumber-
 land, and other gentlemen of distinction, who,
 without any charge or knowledge of the queen,
 joined the fleet before Calais, and ventured their
 lives in the said engagement; he goes on to ob-
 serve, how earnest all ranks and degrees were;
 by instancing also, “ That the earl of Oxford, one
 “ of the most ancient nobles in this land, went to
 sea,

“ sea, and served the queen among them, as did
 “ Robert Cecil, lord Dudley, and sir Walter Ra-
 “ legh, a gentleman of the queen’s privy-cham-
 “ ber, says he, and in his company a great num-
 “ ber of young gentlemen ; among whom were
 “ William Cecil, Edward Darcy, and Arthur
 “ Gorge ;” the same persons mentioned with
 others by Camden, and also in larger number by
 the Dutch historian above quoted, three days be-
 fore.

“ With the recital of whom, I only shew you
 “ (continues the last mentioned author, the let-
 “ ter-writer) how far we have been deceived to
 “ think, that we should have had a party here
 “ for us, when, as you behold, both by land and
 “ sea, all sorts of men were so ready, at their own
 “ charges, without either commandment or en-
 “ tertainment, to adventure also their lives in de-
 “ fence of the queen and the realm.”

From hence it appears, this squadron must have
 also been at the final overthrow of the Spanish
 Armada ; which, on the twenty-seventh of July,
 in the evening, anchored before Calais, intending
 to hold on for Dunkirk, in expectation of the
 prince of Parma, who was always preparing but
 never ready ; and, the English following, an-
 chored also within culverin-shot of them.

Here the lord Seymour joined the English ; and
 then the lord-admiral’s fleet was increased to a
 hundred and forty sail, says Camden ; wherein he
 both exactly agrees with the augmentation there-
 of at Portland, by these volunteers, as we have it
 from the Dutch historian there quoted ; and also
 excludes all intermediate addition of ships, at
 least, by the number he himself has before given
 us of the lord Seymour’s squadron.

Next

Next day the English resolved, according to the queen's directions, upon the stratagem of the fire-ships, to burn or disperse the Spanish navy; and it was put in practice at, or soon after midnight, so successfully, that the enemy, cutting their cables with the utmost horror and precipitancy, were, some scattered by the wind, some fell foul of each other, and others struck upon the sands; the English chasing and thundering upon them from all quarters: then was a great galleas taken by captain Preston, its commander Moncada slain, and a booty of near as much gold fell to the conquerors, as was taken in another before-mentioned.

On the twenty-ninth of July, the Spaniards ranged themselves into the best order they could within sight of Graveling; hither the English fleet also pursued them, and here the Spaniards received their last fatal adieu, by incessant and numberless damages from the English cannon the greatest part of the day, till their galleons, galleyasses, gallies, urcas, and zabras, were so miserably shattered, having their hulls pierced through and through, their oars and rudders cut away, their tackling all rent, and their masts broken, that some were deserted as unserviceable, some sunk with the crew that was in them, and others retiring upon the neighbouring coasts, were seized and plundered by the inhabitants; while those, that had ability left them, most prudently employed it in running away.

The English still followed them into the northern seas, even beyond the latitude of fifty-seven degrees, and, leaving them past all thoughts of the prince of Parma, returned on the fourth of August; when the violent storms that arose, resumed their cause, and compleated their victory; for, by the tempests, shipwrecks, sickness, and

famine in their dangerous passage homewards, they sustained greater losses than even all they had met with throughout the narrow seas.

We shall close our account of this invasion, with the summary of it, which was soon after published to the world, by sir W. Raleigh himself, where, giving the honour of the victory to the courage and conduct of the lord-admiral Howard, he says, that
 “ notwithstanding the victories they pretended to
 “ have obtained, it was soon manifested to all na-
 “ tions, how the navy, which they had termed
 “ Invincible, consisting of one hundred and forty
 “ sail, was, by thirty of the queen’s ships of war,
 “ and a few merchant-men, beaten and shuffled
 “ together, even from the Lizard-Point in Corn-
 “ wall, to Portland, where they shamefully left
 “ Don Pedro de Valdez with his mighty ship;
 “ from Portland to Calais, where they lost Hugo
 “ de Moncada, with the gallies of which he was
 “ captain; and from Calais, driven with squibs
 “ from their anchors, were chased out of the sight
 “ of England, round about Scotland and Ireland;
 “ where, for the sympathy of their barbarous re-
 “ ligion, hoping to find succour and assistance, a
 “ great part of them were crush’d against the
 “ rocks; and those others who landed (being very
 “ many in number) were notwithstanding broken,
 “ slain, and taken; and so sent from village to
 “ village, coupled in halters, to be shipped into
 “ England; where her majesty, of her princely
 “ and invincible disposition, disdaining to put
 “ them to death, and scorning either to retain or
 “ entertain them, they were all sent back again to
 “ their own country, to witness and recount the
 “ worthy achievements of their invincible navy.”

The

The services of sir Walter Raleigh against this invasion, his diligence in regulating the forces of the land, and his interest in strengthening those of the sea; the expence he was at, and the dangers he voluntarily incurred, however undistinguished, more than is above expressed by our common historians, and those few inaccurate accounts thereof, which are descended to us, were yet received with such approbation by the queen, that she seems, as some recompence for them, to have this year made a considerable augmentation to his patent of wines; as if he had, besides the grant before-mentioned, another now also bestowed upon him for tonnage and poundage upon those liquors, except it is the same patent with the former, only renewed this year, or wrong dated in the author who mentions it.

Be it as it should, this patent seems to have been one of the most beneficial favours which Raleigh ever received of the queen, and might, perhaps, exceed in profit the pension which she settled on the lord-admiral himself for his conduct and courage in the said overthrow. This benefit Raleigh enjoyed as long as she lived; though, towards the close of her reign, the number of such like grants to others, being very much increased, they were inveighed against in parliament as grievous and burdensome monopolies, by those chiefly, who had not the merit or interest to procure any for themselves.

Sir Robert Naunton tells us, in his conclusion of Raleigh's character, with relation to the grants he thus obtained; "That though he gained
 " much at the court, yet he took it not out of the
 " Exchequer, or merely out of the queen's purse;
 " but by his wit, and the help of the prerogative;
 " for the queen was never profuse in delivering
 " out

“ out her treasures; but paid many, and most of
 “ her servants, part in money, and the rest with
 “ grace.”

We meet with another office, which Raleigh himself erected, no less praise-worthy than this was profitable to him. For one writer, in the short account he gives of him, having spoken of the division he made of his time, in allowing five hours to sleep, four to reading, two for discourse, and the rest to business, and other necessities; and, having hinted at the diversity of his correspondencies, intelligence, and the like, says, “ That, in the capacity of an agency for all sorts
 “ of persons, he set up a kind of office of ad-
 “ dress.” And further, “ That considering the
 “ dispatch of such variety of engagements in the
 “ former part of his life, one must be much to
 “ seek how a man of so many actions should write
 “ any thing, and one of so many writings, should
 “ do any thing.”

By another little hint, that has been elsewhere preserved, we may conceive, this office chiefly respected a more liberal intercourse, a nobler mutuality of advertisement, than would, perhaps, admit of all sorts of persons; and such as advanced rather to the improvement of men themselves, than their means.

But this suggestion is drawn only from comparing it with the general tendency of those other schemes; among which, I once saw it mentioned, in a letter written by an ingenious person of great note for his writings to a nobleman, who had the greatest correspondence with such persons of any in his time; recommending, “ That long dried
 “ fountain of communication, which Montaigne
 “ first proposed, sir Walter Raleigh put in prac-
 “ tice, and Mr. Hartlib endeavoured to revive.”

Don

Don Antonio, king of Portugal, who had been expelled from his dominions by king Philip, and was now in London, soon after the signal overthrow of the armada above-mentioned, took this opportunity to renew his motion to queen Elizabeth for her assistance towards his restoration; which he propounded to the lord-treasurer in a letter full of liberal offers, written in the Portuguese language, all with his own hand.

The queen not only consented to the enterprize, as thinking it more convenient to return the late visit of the Spaniards in their own country, than suffer them to repeat it here, but lent six of her men of war, and disbursed sixty thousand pounds towards defraying the charges thereof.

This encouragement, and the late provocation, so spirited up the warlike men of the kingdom, and Raleigh among the rest, to become volunteers therein, that they augmented the number of the said ships with a hundred and twenty sail more, and manned them with fourteen or fifteen thousand soldiers and sailors at their own further expence, committing the charge by sea to sir Francis Drake, and that by land to sir John Norris, who were probably the most considerable contributors to the enterprize.

But first Raleigh took care for the relief of his plantation in Virginia, which, that he might more effectually secure than could be expected from his own single assistance, especially after the many heavy disbursements he had made, and the great disappointment the colony must doubtless have received by missing of the last supplies he sent them, through the losses which his agents too rashly brought thereon; he made an assignment to divers gentlemen and merchants of London, for continuing the plantation of this new discovered

country with English men. And this was now no less prudently done with regard to himself, than affectionately with respect to the people employed therein ; whom, though he generously assisted with his advice and interest in some future prosecutions of this undertaking ; yet, these proving unprosperous, through the oblique courses they took at first setting out upon this new foundation, like that in which they lately failed, it was twenty years from this time, before even a whole company could make a more successful and advanced progress in this settlement, than sir Walter Raleigh of himself alone had done ; it having cost him no less than forty thousand pounds.

As for the expedition before-mentioned, which was sent out under Drake and Norris, about five weeks after the said assignment ; that is, on the fourteenth of April, 1589, in which Don Antonio was, by Raleigh, among the rest, accompanied to Portugal, we need not here be circumstantial in our account of it ; especially as to the action at the Groine, the overthrow of the Spaniard at Puente de Burgus, the taking of Peniche, with the castle of Cascais, the assault of Lisbon, and the burning of Vigo ; since our historians have not distinguished what part Raleigh had therein ; in which, perhaps, they seem not so grateful to him, as he was to his associates ; but particularly in not mentioning him at the taking of that great number of easterling hulks, and other ships, laden with Spanish goods, provisions and ammunition, for a new invasion of England, which, from the 2d of June, some or other of the adventurers (none are named) continued to bring in to the English fleet, then lying in the road of Cascais, for six days together.

This fleet of ours was but thinly manned at first, and, having lost some thousands by sickness
and

and intemperance with the new wines of those countries ; hands could not be spared to bring home much above a quarter of those vessels and their lading, that were thus taken ; for sir Roger Williams, who was a colonel in the land-service of this expedition, has said, in a letter of his still extant, “ It is well known, that we had above
 “ two hundred sail of all sorts, of which we could
 “ not carry with us above threescore for the want
 “ of men.”

Hence arose, at their return into England, a little contention between Williams and Raleigh ; for Raleigh, having taken some of these prizes, Williams placed in one of them his lieutenant with some of his soldiers, “ without which,” says Williams, “ it could not have been carried into England :” wherefore he would have laid claim, it seems, both to the ship and its cargo ; “ this voyage,” as he goes on, “ having cost him a thousand pounds,” as it did several other of the adventurers no doubt. But his claim not being thought reasonable, the earl of Bath, lieutenant of Devonshire, discharged his men from that vessel at Dartmouth. Williams, at this, growing very turbulent, and his clamours reaching the queen’s ear, procured her displeasure against him, which occasioned his said letter to three of the privy-council ; whence this intelligence is extracted.

From this letter, we farther collect, the achievements of the English in this voyage so well satisfied the queen, in the disablement of the enemy, especially as to their naval powers, that she honoured the commanders, or chief adventurers therein, and sir Walter Raleigh among the rest, with a golden chain ; for sir Roger presumed, the earl of Essex (his great friend, as appears in the histories of this expedition) with the rest who were

in action, would testify, "That I deserve a chain as well as my fellows," says he.

As for the coarse-expression which follows, of "Raleigh's belying his hulk, as he had done the ark of Noah, the best ship that ever was," though it may betray some want of politeness and impetuosity of disposition in sir Roger's civil capacity; yet, in the field, and against an enemy, those rougher qualities might invigorate his courage and experience, and illustrate the military character of the man.

In the latter end of June this year, and some weeks before this dispute, the English fleet returned home; but Raleigh appears first to have touched upon the coast of Ireland, probably to make a short visit to his seigniory there, and see some of his acquaintances among the new settlements in the province of Munster.

Raleigh afterwards formed an enterprize upon Panama, with a design also of meeting the Spanish plate-fleet. The scheme he laid down appeared so feasible to her majesty, having provided no less than thirteen ships of his own and his associates, all well manned and plentifully furnished with arms, provisions, and all other necessaries, that she added to them two of her own men of war, named the Garland and Foresight; and gave him a commission, constituting him general of the fleet. The honour of lieutenant-general was given to sir John Burgh, a gentleman altogether worthy of the command; and, indeed, all his consorts, officers, soldiers and sailors, were such as had given sufficient proof of their valour in several services.

With these ships, thus equipped, Raleigh departed in February, the year aforelaid, to the west of England, in order to store himself with such further conveniencies as he should need; but
the

the westerly winds blowing for a long time contrary, obliged him to keep harbour so many weeks that the best season for his purpose was expired, and much of his provisions consumed.

The queen understanding how unluckily he was detained, it being the sixth of May, 1592, before Raleigh could put to sea, sent sir Martin Forbither after him, who overtook him the next day, with letters of revocation. But Raleigh finding his honour so far engaged in the undertaking of this voyage, interpreting the queen's letters, as if her commands had been propounded in terms of latitude, either to advance or retire at his own discretion, would by no means consent to leave the fleet, which was under sail. So he continued his course upon the seas, till he met with a ship belonging to Mons. Gourdon, governor of Calais, in which was one Mr. Nevel Davies, who was returned from a twelve years captivity in Spain; and who assured him, there was little hopes of any success this year in the West-Indies; for the king of Spain had sent express orders to all the ports, both of the islands and Terra Firma, that no ships should stir that year, nor any treasure be laid aboard for Spain.

But neither this disagreeable news, nor the other discouragements, could deter him from proceeding; till, on the eleventh of May, when he was off Cape Finister, a most violent storm arising, so scattered the greater part of the fleet, and sunk his boats and pinnaces, that, as the rest were driven and divided, Raleigh himself, in the Garland, was in great danger of being swallowed up in the sea. Hereupon, considering the season was too far advanced for his enterprize upon Panama, and his victuals too much consumed; that the same consumption might further disable him from lying upon the
Spanish

Spanish coast, or at the islands, to meet with the Indian fleet, for which he had received so little encouragement to wait, he made a division of his fleet into two squadrons, committing one to the care of sir John Burgh, and the other to sir Martin Forbisher; and gave his instructions for sir Martin, in the *Garland*, with captain Gifford, captain Thinne, captain Greenvil, and others, to lie off the south cape to terrify and keep the Spaniards on their own coast; while sir John Burgh, with captain Cross, Thomson, and others, should lie at the Azores for the Carracks from India.

The success of these directions was answerable to the excellent judgment that contrived them: for the Spanish admiral, receiving intelligence that the English fleet was cruizing upon their coast, gathered all his naval power to watch Forbisher, and defend the southern parts of Spain; while the Carracks, unguarded, were left a prey to sir John Burgh.

Before the fleet separated, they met, on the Spanish coast, with a great Biscayan, called *Santa Clara*, a ship of six hundred tons; which, after a fight that lasted pretty long, they mastered, and found freighted with all sorts of little iron-work, valued by the English at six or seven thousand pound; but of treble the value to the Spaniards. Having cleared this they sent to England.

Then sir John Burgh, in a ship of sir Walter Raleigh's, named the *Roebuck*, coasting along towards the south cape of St. Vincent; and, by the way spying a sail, gave her chase; which, being a flyboat and good sailer, drew him far southward before he could fetch her: at last, she came under his lee and struck sail. The master confessed a great fleet was prepared at St. Lucar and Gadiz; for the rumour of Raleigh's expedition against the
West-

West-Indies had so alarmed the king of Spain, that he raised this fleet to oppose and encounter him; though, looking for the arrival of his East-India carracks, he first ordered those ships to convey them from the Azores; but, persuading himself that, if Raleigh's fleet should make for the West-Indies, the islands would be infested only by some small men of war, which the carracks of themselves would be able to cope with, his order was to Don Alphonso de Baçaa to pursue Raleigh's fleet and engage him, what course soever he held; and the English soon found his information true: for sir John Burgh, as he returned to his company, descried the Spanish fleet to sea-ward of him; which having likewise discovered him, made full account to bring him into the Spanish harbour; but he, with great address escaped them, and shaped his course to the Azores, according to Raleigh's directions. Here he took several small caravels; but got little intelligence from them.

Arriving at Flores on the twenty-first of June, and making to the shore of Santa Cruz, he found them all in arms; but, shewing a white flag, he was accommodated by the inhabitants with whatever he wanted. Here he learned news of the East-Indian carracks, one of which had lately passed by for Lisbon, and that four more were behind. He made after, and soon discovered the foremost, named the Santa Cruz; which was pressed so close upon by the English that she fired herself; but they took, besides some spoil, certain prisoners out of her, who confessed that, within fifteen days, three other carracks would arrive at the same island.

Sir John, having taken counsel with his officers, departed six or seven leagues to the west of Flores, causing the ships of his company to spread themselves

selfes north and south two leagues distant from each other, by which extension they could discover two whole degrees. Thus they lay till the third of August, when captain Thompson first saw that prodigious great carrack called the Madre de Dios, or Mother of God, one of the greatest burden belonging to the crown of Portugal.

Captain Thompson first attacked her, but with the loss of several men; then sir John Burgh, in the Roebuck, aforesaid, intangled her; and sir Robert Cross fastened himself to her at the same instant: but sir John was forced to disengage a while, for fear of sinking, being shot under water. At last, Cross fell athwart her all alone, prevented her running ashore to fire herself, as the other had done, and gave the rest time to come up to his succour; which, after he had fought with her three hours, he received by the lord Cumberland's ships; and then, having made a great slaughter of the Spaniards, they boarded and possessed themselves of her with little difficulty.

Thus this great vessel was brought safe into Dartmouth on the seventh of September following, where it daily drew vast numbers of spectators from all parts to admire its hugeness, being far beyond the model of the biggest ship then known among us, either for war or burden.

But as to the lading, though sir John Burgh prudently seized upon the whole to her majesty's use, to prevent all licentious spoil; whereby the treasure brought home was sufficient to recompense the adventurers cost and the sailors peril, the dividends are not known, more than that her majesty had the largest share; and though, through the varieties thereof, our nation was let into the discovery of those merchandises of which we had
before

before but an imperfect knowledge ; yet the whole cargo, when it came to be landed and valued in England, fell short above two thirds of the computation which had been made by Raleigh and Hawkins : for a large quantity of jewels were never brought to light ; and so much of her other goods was also purloined by the sailors, soldiers, and officers, that, at her arrival in England, she drew five foot less water than she did when she was first freighted at Cochin in the East-Indies : and, indeed, the sailors boldly confessed, “ They had rather trust their souls to a merciful God by perjury, than their fortunes to the hands of unmerciful men.”

The latter end of this year, and beginning of next, we find sir Walter Raleigh in the Parliament-house, whether returned for a county or a borough does not appear at present. A late author of his life observes, “ That his speeches were full of reason, no man in his days being more a master of language than himself ;” and matter too, he might have added ; none more satisfactorily confirming his arguments with facts and examples than he did, even in his unpremeditated speeches, no less than in the more deliberate compositions of his pen ; so full of observation he was upon all times and countries, and so readily he could apply it upon all occasions ; which now procured him great regard as a speaker in the house, and afterwards as an author, to the whole world.

Soon after the opening of the session, we find him upon the committee for the liberties and privileges of the members, to examine and make report of all cases touching the elections and returns during the said session of parliament ; also in another against popish recusants : and, when the bill for certain subsidies to be granted her majesty was
in

in debate, and some members were for having it expressly distinguished in the bill, that the said subsidies should be for maintaining a war offensive and defensive against the Spaniard, that the conquests we made over them might be legal and warrantable, sir Walter Raleigh seconded those speeches, and said, "He knew many, who held it not lawful in conscience, as the time was, to take prizes from the Spaniard; and he knew that, if it might be lawful and open war, there would be more voluntary hands to fight against the Spaniard than the queen should stand in need of to send to sea." Accordingly he was appointed of the committee for drawing the articles and preamble of the said bill. Moreover, when the necessity of the said subsidy came to be enforced, Raleigh spake for it, not only (as he protested) to please the queen, to whom he was infinitely bound above his deserts; but for the necessity he both saw and knew. He very well discovered the great strength of Spain, and, to shew his mightiness, he told how he possessed all the world; and also that his malice and ill purpose was evident to this realm, he shewed how, on every side, he had beleaguered us. That, in Denmark, the king being young, had corrupted the council and nobility; so as it was very likely he would speed himself of shipping from thence. In the marine towns of the Low-Countries, and in Norway, he laid in great store of shipping. In France, he had the parliament-towns at his command; in Brittany, he had all the best havens; and, in Scotland, he had so corrupted the nobility, that he had promised them forces to assist the papists; that they were ready to join with any foreign forces that would make them strong, to be by themselves and resist others; for, as he thought, there were not six gentlemen of that country of
one

the religion. " In his own country, there is all
 " possible preparing; and he is coming with sixty
 " gallies, besides other shipping, on purpose to
 " annoy us. We must then have no ships, if he
 " invade us riding at anchor; all will be little
 " enough to withstand him. At his coming, he
 " fully resolveth to get Plymouth, or at least to
 " possess some of the havens this summer within
 " our land; and Plymouth is a place of most
 " danger, for no ordnance can be carried thither to
 " remove him, the passages will not give leave.

" Now the way to defeat him, is, to send a royal
 " army to supplant him in Brittany, and to possess
 " ourselves there; and to send a strong navy to
 " sea, and to lie upon the Cape, and at Lambuck;
 " to which places come all his ships with riches
 " from all parts, and then they may set upon all
 " that come. This we are able to do, and un-
 " doubtedly with fortunate success, if we under-
 " take it."

But some division arising upon the question,
 how they should make a motion for this supply to
 the lords, Raleigh made so judicious a distinction
 concerning the cause of it, and so clearly demon-
 strated the erroneous manner in which it had been
 proposed, that it appears plainly, the successful
 turn which followed was owing to him alone.

After this conference, several forms of provision
 were proposed by way of treble subsidies, and like
 proportionable fifteenths and tenths, with other
 kinds of benevolence. Sir Thomas Cecil was for
 three subsidies to be paid in four years, and to be
 charged upon men of ten pounds and upwards, to
 spare those who were under. Sir Henry Knivet
 alledged the poverty of our country against the
 reasons used, and imputed that poverty to the
 bringing in more foreign wares than we vended
 commo-

commodities ; whereby our money was carried out of our country, by which it was much exhausted ; thereupon he moved for a survey to be taken of all mens lands and goods in England, and so much to be yearly levied as might maintain the queen's wars, the proportion being set one hundred thousand pounds yearly ; or, if that was disapproved of, every man, on his word, should deliver in, to his power, the profits of his lands and goods ; so a proportion to be cessed accordingly.

To him who spoke of the poverty of the land, from the multitude of beggars, Raleigh gave these reasons : “ That the broken companies in Nor-
 “ mandy and the Low-Countries, who returned
 “ maimed hither, never went back again to the
 “ towns from whence they came ; for a multitude
 “ of clothiers, taking their looms into their hands,
 “ spun their wool themselves ; and, except we
 “ would work for them cheaper than they can make
 “ themselves they will set none to work. This en-
 “ grossing of so many trades into their own hands,
 “ beggars so many as usually lived by the trade.”

As for the surveying of so many mens estates, he thought it inconvenient ; “ for many, being
 “ esteemed richer than they are, would be found
 “ beggars, and increase the opinion of their num-
 “ ber by losing their credit, which is now their
 “ wealth.”

He further reported, of his own knowledge, That the west country, since the parliament begun, had taken from them the worth of four hundred and forty thousand pounds ; and, that those of Newcastle lay still for fear, because the Bourdeaux fleet was taken this year by the enemy. “ For
 “ the enemy approaching us, and being become
 “ our neighbour, our trades will decay every day,
 “ and so our poverty increases. Thus it is most
 “ certain,

“ certain, the longer we defer aid, the less able
 “ we shall be to yield to it; yet, in the end, the
 “ the greater aid will be required; so, sparing
 “ them now, we shall charge them when they shall
 “ be less able to bear it; for it is most true, one
 “ hundred thousand pounds would have done the
 “ last year, that which three will not now do; and
 “ three will do this year that which six will not
 “ do hereafter.”

In the conclusion, he agreed to three subsidies; in them, the three-pound men were to be spared; the sum which came from them, to be levied upon those of ten pounds and upwards; and the payment to be speedy. Mr. Francis Bacon assented to three subsidies, but not to their payments under six years: but, to his reasons of difficulty and danger in a speedier levy, which might hazard a double peril, by making it four shillings in the pound, a double payment; Raleigh answered, “ I see no
 “ reason that the suspicion of discontentment should
 “ cross the provision for the present danger. The
 “ time is now more dangerous than it was in eighty-
 “ eight; for then the Spaniard, coming from
 “ Spain, was to pass dangerous seas, and had no
 “ place of retreat or relief if he failed: but now
 “ he has in Brittany great store of shipping; a land-
 “ ing-place in Scotland; and men and horses there
 “ as good as any we have: but for the difficulty
 “ in getting this subsidy, I think it seems more
 “ difficult in speaking, than it would be in ga-
 “ thering.” In fine, it was carried agreeable to his propositions.

Soon after there was a bill read in the house against counterfeiting the hands of counsellors or principal officers; and, upon the second reading, it was committed to sir John Woolley and sir Walter Raleigh, with others: but, after a meeting in

the Middle-Temple hall, sir John made report to the House, that himself, and the residue of the committee, upon the end of their examination, did think it a very dangerous bill, and not fit to pass the House: but the bill against aliens selling foreign wares among us by retail, produced several weighty arguments and speeches in the House, which have been transmitted to us.

Upon this occasion, sir Walter Raleigh made a speech which hath often been quoted in his praise, both for his knowledge in the interest of his country, and his unbiaſſed affection in exerting it. As for the bill, he was one to whom it was committed, and who, after the deliberations of the said committee upon it, offered it again to the House with the addition of a proviso.

On the twenty-seventh of March following, that is to say, in the year 1593, it was read the third time; and, after many long speeches, passed upon the question, by the division of the House, with the difference of fourscore voices; the Yeas being one hundred and sixty-two, the Noes eighty-two.

About a week afterwards there was a bill, for explaining a branch in an act to retain the queen's subjects in due obedience, read; and many speeches passed in the House before it was committed, through the many imperfections in the preamble and body of the said bill. For it pretended a punishment only of the Brownists and other sectaries; but, alledging nothing against them in particular, contained some ensnaring clauses that might comprehend more innocent persons.

This year we meet with an infamous libel in print, set forth by a Lover of his Country, as he calls himself, to expose certain ministers and counsellors of state, who had been instrumental in framing that proclamation against the seminaries which
was

was pi
king o

years before: for the
ly founded an English
cloyster at Valancourt; as a nursery to supply us
with treason and rebellion; so many hopeful stocks
of that species were transplanted into England:
as occasioned the th said proclamation to extirpate
them. Now this article was published to calum-
niate the supposed authors of it; and, as Raleigh
appears, among other very good company, to
have his share of the slander therein; so he might
probably have had a hand in those wholesome arti-
cles for the safety of the realm, which occasioned
it. For after this libel has reviled the greatest and
wisest ministers of the nation, it seems to have re-
served the quintessence for him, who was so well
able to crush the pernicious purposes which were
daily hatching by the pernicious brood which
brought it forth. For Raleigh had given such
proofs of his sincere attachment to religion, that
his sentiments were made use of to reform or re-
gulate even the professors of it; yet now his head
must be turned so excessively to its detriment, as
to provoke this libeller's pious spleen against no-
thing less than Sir Walter Raleigh's School of
Atheism; compendiously insinuating, as if truly
he was not satisfied with being a disciple, but set
up for a doctor in his faculty, and won young
gentlemen into his said school; wherein the Old
and New Testament were jested at, and scholars
taught to spell God backwards."

Then he complains, "What a miserable thing
it is, that her majesty should make laws and pro-
clamations according to these senses and opini-
ons." But there may need little pains to blunt
the point of this dart, when we consider that it was
shot from a jesuitical bow; for by whom should
it be levelled against him but Robert Parsons, the

notorious traitor and incendiary, however deeply he disguised himself into a Lover of his Country. Nevertheless, some ten years after, when Raleigh was trampled down by the court, and there was a turn of state to serve, this might be a good serviceable obloquy enough to upbraid him with, and depreciate him in the eye of the populace : but these prejudiced representations will probably be thought of little authority.

Indeed there is a traditional author who accounts for the grounds of this aspersion in the following words: “ Sir Walter Raleigh was the first, as I
 “ have heard, who ventured to tack about, and
 “ sail aloof from the beaten tract of the schools ;
 “ and who, upon the discovery of so apparent an
 “ error as a Torrid Zone, intended to proceed in
 “ an inquisition after more solid truths ; till the
 “ mediation of some, whose livelihood lay in ham-
 “ mering shrines for this superannuated study, pos-
 “ sessed queen Elizabeth that such doctrine was
 “ against God, no less than her father’s honour ;
 “ whose faith, if he owned any, was grounded
 “ upon school-divinity ; whereupon she chid him,
 “ who was, by his own confession, ever after
 “ branded with the title of an atheist, though a
 “ known assertor of God and Providence.”

That he was such assertor, seems to be affirmed by an author, who introduces the apparition of sir Walter speaking to him in this manner: “ Thou
 “ well knowest that the world hath, at sundry
 “ times, cast a foul and most unjust aspersion upon
 “ me for my presumed denial of a Deity ; from
 “ which abominable and horrible crime I was ever
 “ most free ; and not any man now living better
 “ knows the same than thyself ; in whose presence
 “ I was often accustomed highly to praise and esteem
 “ the book of Lessius, written in proof of the be-
 “ ing

“ing of a Deity :” so requests that he would translate the same into English ; “ which I myself,” says the ghost, “ had done, if cruel fate had not untimely cut off the thread of my mortality ; and let the title bear my name, that so the readers may acknowledge it was done by my solicitation.”

Then the said translator of that book says, in his own person, to the reader, “ It is well known that sir Walter was a man of great natural parts, and yet was suspected of the most foul and execrable crime of atheism ; how truly God and himself only knows ; yet I have reason to think it a false aspersion.”

If thus much is said of Raleigh by an author who knew him, what credit shall we pay to another who wrote many years later ? Never knew him, produces no authority for the principles he charges upon him ; yet pretends to give us the tutor’s name from whom he imbibed them, and that a man of no less learning and merit than the famous Mr. Thomas Hariot ?

This was that English philosopher, from whose illustrious discoveries, he, who was the glory of the French philosophers, is owned to have borrowed much of the light with which he shone : this was that excellent mathematician, who, says our author Wood, “ coming to the knowledge of this heroic knight, sir Walter Raleigh, was entertained by him in his family, who allowed him a yearly pension, and was instructed by him at leisure hours in that science.”

This was that virtuous and religious man, who, being sent over by sir Walter Raleigh with his first colony to Virginia, but did not bear him company, as the said author mistakes, to sur-

vey the bounds of the English discoveries, with the commodities and customs of the country, but first communicated the gospel to those heathen inhabitants ; and, “ in every town where he came, “ explained to them the contents of the Bible ; “ declaring, that therein was set forth the true and “ only God, and his mighty works ; that therein “ was contained the true doctrine of salvation “ through Christ ; with many particulars of miracles, and chief points of religion, as I was able “ then to utter,” continues he, “ and thought fit “ for the time: and, though I told them the book, “ materially and of itself, was not of such virtue as “ I thought they did conceive, but only the doctrine therein contained; yet would many be glad “ to touch it, to embrace it, to kiss it, to hold it “ to their breasts and heads, and stroke over all “ their bodies with it, to shew their hungry desire “ of that knowledge which was spoken of.” Yet this is the man whom the above-cited Anthony Wood charges with having had strange thoughts of the scripture ; with undervaluing the old story of the creation ; with never believing that trite position *ex nihilo nihil fit* ; with making a philosophical theology, wherein he cast off the Old Testament ; so that consequently the New would have no foundation. Further, with being a deist, and imparting his doctrine to the earl of Northumberland, into whose service Raleigh had recommended him, and of whom he also received a yearly pension of one hundred and twenty pounds. Lastly, with infusing those principles likewise into sir Walter Raleigh himself, when he was compiling his *History of the World*. This last insinuation, and probably all the rest, is surely a manifest slander, as Wood himself must have owned, if he had sufficiently read that *History of the World* ; where sir
Walter

Walter Raleigh has, in many places, given stronger evidences of his Christian faith, than any of his detractors ever did of theirs.

As for Raleigh, what might not a little sharpen these detractions against him, was perhaps a grant about this time made him from the crown of some church lands; a course of reward usual with queen Elizabeth towards such as had performed any considerable services for the state.

The story, as we are forced to gather it from those authors, by whom it has not been over-favourably told, is, That about the year 1594, the bishop of Salisbury, Dr. John Coldwell, who had been bred a physician, dismembered his see, by alienating the manor of Sherborn to sir Walter Raleigh. Sir John Harrington speaks of an ominous presage to make his tale as affecting as he can to prince Henry, and insinuates the displeasure even of Heaven against Sir Walter Raleigh; where he observes, “ That sir Walter
“ Raleigh, using often to ride post in these days,
“ upon no small employments, between Ply-
“ mouth and the court, when Sherborn-castle be-
“ ing right in the way, he cast such an eye upon
“ it, as Ahab did upon Naboth’s vineyard; and
“ once above the rest being talking of it; of the
“ commodiousness of the place; of the strength
“ of the seat; and how easily it might be got from
“ the bishoprick; suddenly, over and over came
“ his horse; that his very face, which was then
“ thought a very good face, ploughed up the
“ earth where he fell. This fall was ominous, I
“ make no question, (says he) as the like was ob-
“ served in the lord Hastings, &c. But his brother
“ Adrian would needs have him interpret that, not
“ as a courtier, but as a conqueror, it presaged
“ the quiet possession thereof. And this, through
“ the queen’s favour, came to pass.”

For, after Dr. Piers was translated to York, this Dr. Coldwell was elected to succeed him in the see of Salisbuty ; but it lay vacant three years : in which dangerous juncture for denial, all the doctor's church preferments being disposed of, yet before his election was confirmed, sir Walter Raleigh importuned him to pass Sherborn to the crown, and effected it ; so shot the good old man (as one of them phrases it) between wind and water ; though indeed, a good round rent was reserved to the bishoprick.

Then sir Walter begged the same of the queen, and obtained it ; much after the same method that sir William Killigrew got the manor of Crediton from the church of Exeter, by the consent of bishop Babington. Raleigh embellished his sovereign's bounty with great magnificence and commendation ; not that he was in danger thereby of falling under the remark he has made on common builders of sumptuous seats, " That men
" are rather known by their houses, than their
" houses by them."

Yet his elegant taste in building is sufficiently attested by an author who surveyed the improvements he made upon this estate, when they were fresh and in their splendor, and who tells us, " That the queen, having granted the fee-farm
" of Sherborn to sir Walter Raleigh, he began to
" build the castle very fairly ; but, altering his
" purpose, he built in the park adjoining a most
" fine house, which he beautified with orchards,
" gardens, and groves, of much variety and
" great delight ; so that, whether you consider
" the pleasantness of the seat, the goodness of the
" soil, or other delicacies belonging to it, it rests
" (says he) unparalleled by any in these parts."

How he came afterwards to be juggled out of it, may also sufficiently appear when we arrive at
the

the latter part of his life. But here we may take an opportunity of remembering a plantation of his, which is somewhat observable.

A late author mentions it with respect to him, but in a distant manner; where, telling us, “That
“Beddington, near Croydon in Surry, is a neat
“curious seat, built by sir Francis Carew.” He further adds, “The orchards and gardens are
“very pleasant, and especially famous for the
“orange-trees, which have now grown there
“above these hundred years; being planted in
“the open ground, under a moveable court, during the winter months: they were the first that
“were brought into England, by a knight of
“that noble family; who deserves no less commendation than Lucullus met with for bringing
“cherry and filbert-trees out of Pontus into Italy; for which he is celebrated by Pliny and others.

As to the seat at West Horseley in Surry, there is good authority that it was in the possession of his son, if not his own; and in the hall of that house, there are in several places of the walls and ceiling the arms of Raleigh still visible. But there is a house no farther from London than Islington, about a bow’s-shot on this side the church, which, though I think it has no such evidences remaining upon its walls, ceilings, or windows, as to prove him to have been its owner, the arms that are seen there, above a hundred years old, being of a succeeding inhabitant; is yet popularly reported to have been a villa of his.

As for his dwellings in London, he had apartments at court at Somerset-house, mention is made of some acquaintance resorting to him at Durham House in the Strand; he had likewise a house by the Thames side, which might be the same; and another at St. James’s, or apartments in the court there.

The truth is, sir Walter Raleigh did not live so long at court, and so much about the dazzling beauties in it, without sometimes yielding to the softer passions; yet love, which, in some great courtiers of those times, was the grand business of their life, seemed only an interlude in his.

There was, among the queen's maids of honour, a beautiful young lady (as her picture represents her) named Elizabeth, daughter of sir Nicholas Throgmorton, an able statesman and ambassador, whose negotiations and characters are recorded both by the French and Scotch, as well as English historians of those times. With this lady, Raleigh had, it seems, an amour; and, as he was a man of great address, won her heart, and even obtained the last favour.

This intimacy came at last to the queen's knowledge; whether enviously betrayed by any female confidant; or whether the intrigue could not be long concealed for the fruits of it. But, in such colours this matter of debauching a maid of honour was heightened, that Raleigh was out of favour again, in confinement for several months; and, when enlarged, forbidden the court; whence the lady also was dismissed. Yet, as heinous as this misdemeanor was in Raleigh, her majesty did not punish it in Leicester, Essex, and other courtiers, famous for such intrigues; especially the former, who turned off Douglas Sheffield, by whom he had a son, to marry the earl of Essex's mother. But Raleigh very readily made the most honourable reparation he could, by marrying the object of his affection.

It appears they lived together ever after in the most exemplary degree of conjugal harmony; and, when he was in his greatest troubles, there are testi-

testimonies from one, who was otherwise none of his greatest friends, of her extraordinary diligence and fidelity in making interest and applications to alleviate them.

While Raleigh was under the displeasure above-mentioned, and in retirement, he projected a farther removal from the court; the better by that distance, and some memorable exploit, to allay the malice of his enemies, and recover his sovereign's favour. Some thought this an impolitic course; as if his foreign actions could not work so effectually to his advantage, as the application of his adversaries to his disparagement.

And hereupon sir Robert Naunton says, "That finding his favour declining, and falling into a recess, he undertook a new peregrination to leave that terra infirma of the court, for that of the wars, and by declining himself, and by absence, to expel his and the passion of his enemies; which, in court (says he) was a strange device of recovery; but, that he knew there was some ill office done him, that he durst not attempt to mind any other ways than by going aside, thereby to teach envy a new way of forgetfulness, and not so much as to think of him: howsoever, he had it always in mind never to forget himself; and his device took so well, that, at his return, he came in, as rams do by going backwards, with the greater strength; and so continued to the last, great in her grace."

Thus also says another author: "His enemies of greater rank kept him under; sometimes in, sometimes out; and then he would wisely decline himself out of the court-road: and then you found him not but by Fame; in voyages to the West-Indies, Guiana, New Plantations, Virginia,

“ Virginia, or in some expeditions again the Spaniards.”

And thus writes a third to the same purpose :
 “ It is observable, that sir Walter Raleigh was in
 “ and out at court so often, that he was commonly called the Tennis-ball of Fortune, which she
 “ delighted to sport with. His enemies perpetually brought him into disgrace with his mistress, and his merit in a little time restored him
 “ again to her favour: and, as she always grew cold to the earl of Essex after absence, so she
 “ ever received Raleigh with greater marks of her esteem; and he was too hard for his rivals, by
 “ the very means which they intended for his destruction.”

Certainly, he deserved such good fortune, beyond all others, of a restitution to royal favour, who could so much more hazardously and heroically than any of them, aspire to earn it; as now he abundantly manifested, in that grand and gallant undertaking, to discover and conquer the large, rich, and beautiful empire of Guiana; an enterprize which had baffled the repeated efforts of some of the ablest and most renowned captains in Spain for near one hundred years past: for, in one of their own authors, we may read the names of many brave commanders, and their commendations for the miseries they endured, who within that space, had trod this maze, and lost themselves, with some, five hundred, some one thousand men a-piece, in finding out this country. And yet none of all their own authors have more nobly and liberally celebrated these and other such like adventurers of the Spanish nation, than Raleigh himself has done.

For Raleigh, industrious in diving into the causes of so many failures, having informed himself

self what round-about courses the preceding adventurers had taken to arrive at the heart of the country they sought, and which was the shortest way to make a successful discovery, found that most of the Spanish attempts in these parts had failed, thro' the mutinies and discords which they had fomented among themselves ; as most of their conquests in others, were much owing to the like factions among the Americans : and if “ there
 “ was not an expert soldier or seaman but he consulted (as one author observes upon his character in general) nor a printed, or manuscript discourse but he perused ; whereby it came to pass, there were not exacter rules or principles for both services than he drew.”

Much more may we believe he now particularly made use of these helps and lights to draw those rules and directions by, which this year (last mentioned, 1594) he gave to an old officer, captain Whiddon, whose experience he had before tried, for a voyage to the country aforesaid : and this same year that captain also returned from thence, with several inducing confirmations of the grandeur and opulency of Guiana, having learnt the same from some of the grand casiques, or principal rulers, upon the borders thereof ; but not without complaints of some barbarous treachery from the Spanish governor, who had then got some footing there ; and, after promises of suffering the Englishmen to furnish themselves with what supplies they wanted, decoyed several of them to their destruction.

Raleigh had thus more spurs than one, inciting him to visit these regions in person. And now, this golden country made such invitations, he cheerfully determined, in quest thereof, though through an ocean of difficulties, to wash away the malice

malice of his adversaries at court, and render his character more secure against the little censures which swarm in that theatre of circumvention, to sting and fester superior merit: with such like views Raleigh very speedily fitted out a fleet at a great expence; though the lord-admiral Howard and sir Robert Cecyl were at the further charge of augmenting it.

We may distinguish five ships under him, besides barges, wherries, and other necessary tenders, in his own excellent narrative of this voyage. Whence we understand, the ship he went in was his own, which he does not name; but the Lion's Whelp, which was the lord-admiral's, was commanded by captain George Gifford; captain Keymis had the command of a galego, besides a bark, which was committed to captain Cross, and another to captain Calfield. The whole number of men in this fleet is not mentioned; but the select company of officers, gentlemen, and soldiers, he used in his discoveries, exceeded not one hundred.

Thus prepared, he departed from Plymouth on the sixth of February following, and made to the Grand Canaries, and so to Teneriff, where he waited awhile for the Lion's Whelp, and for captain Amais Preston. But this captain disappointed him, and went upon another adventure, which proved some disadvantage in the prosecution of his discoveries.

After seven or eight days, not seeing them, he proceeded for Trinidad, with his own ship and captain Cross's only (for the galego which set out with them, lingered behind on the coast of Spain) They reached that isle on the twenty-second of March, and cast anchor at Point-Curiapan, which
the

the Spaniards called Punta de Gallo, situate in sight of it or thereabouts.

In the four or five days he continued here, he came not to the speech of any Indian or Spaniard. On the coast he saw a fire, but for fear of the Spaniards, none of the Indians dared to approach him. Then Raleigh, in his barge, coasted close along the shore, and landed in every cove, the better to know the island, while his ships kept the channel. From hence he removed in a few days up north-east, to recover that place the Spaniards call Puerto de los Espanoles, but the inhabitants Conquerabia; and, as before (revictualling his barge) he left the ships, and kept by the shore, that he might better speak with the inhabitants, and observe the rivers, watering-places, and ports in the island; of all which he took draughts as he passed along, which he reduced at last to one general map.

At Parico he found a fresh-water river, and at Terra de Brea, another port, called by the natives Piche, great quantities of very good oysters growing upon the branches of certain trees, here so numerous, that he travelled for a dozen miles together under them; which enabled him afterwards to rectify the ancient accounts of this tree, and the absurd conceits of some moderns, that it was the tree of knowledge. In short, he coasted three parts of the isle of Trinidad, in the month he staid there for captain Preston, the more exactly to make his draught thereof.

At Puerto de los Espanoles he met with his ships, and found a company of Spaniards keeping guard at the descent, who, in doubt of their strength, offered signs of peace. He sent captain Whiddon to parley with them, whom he afterwards left buried in the island to his great grief,
being

being a man, says Raleigh, most honest and valiant. From some of the Spanish soldiers, whom he found means to make free of their tongue by the help of wine ; and, from one of the Indian rulers, named Cantyman, he gathered what strength the Spaniards were of, and how far it was to the city they had built under their governor Don Antonio de Berreo.

Here he found occasion of staying awhile ; both to have some reckoning with Berreo for his treacherous dealings with the English under Whid-don, and to learn also the strength, riches, and passages to several other parts of the country. But, when Raleigh was credibly informed, that the Spanish governor had sent for a recruit of soldiers, and how lamentably the natives suffered under his cruelties ; that the very lords of the country were made his slaves ; that he had put one of them, named Morequito, to death ; that several others were then lying in chains, and languishing under the most exquisite tortures, he found sufficient occasion, not only to revenge the loss of his countrymen, but a good opportunity to gain the hearts of the Indians, by attempting to rescue them from this yoke of tyranny : therefore he boldly set upon the corps du garde, in the dusk of the evening ; and, having put them to the sword, advanced with a hundred men, and, by break of day, took their new city called San Joseph, which, at the entreaty of the Indians, he set on fire.

Then were the natives in confinement set at liberty. Among them were five casiques, or petty kings in those parts. These, all bound together in one chain, almost dead with famine, and wasted with torments, having had their naked bodies basted or dropped over with burning bacon ; Raleigh also, to his great reputation, delivered from
their

their captivity; and several years after, when this, with Raleigh's other noble acts among these Indians, was mentioned by some of our English adventurers to Guiana, it was gratefully acknowledged by them to his honour; when also, one of their bravest princes, who had been in England, and christened Ragapo, came above a hundred miles to visit them, for the great love he bore to Raleigh; manifestly shewing, how strongly he had engaged their affection and desires for his return to be their ruler and protector. But, for the governor, who had imprisoned so many of them, he was now become a prisoner himself; and Raleigh, by his courteous treatment of him, reaped the fruit of that knowledge and experience he had gathered in the many years he had consumed, with great sums of money, upon the discovery of Guiana.

The same day that Raleigh made this conquest, arrived captain Gifford and captain Keymis, and in their ships divers gentlemen and others, which, to his little army, was a great succour and solace. Then proceeding upon his discovery, Raleigh first called all the chief of the island together, who were enemies to the Spaniards; for some of them Berreo had brought out of other countries, and planted there, to eat out and waste the natives; then, by his Indian interpreter, whom he carried out of England, he made them understand, " he was the
" servant of a queen, who was the greatest casique
" of the north, and a virgin who had more casiqui
" under her than there were trees in that island:
" that she was an enemy to the Castellani, in re-
" gard of their tyranny and oppression; and, hav-
" ing freed all the coasts of the northern world
" from their servitude, had sent him to free them
" also; and withal, to defend the country of Gui-
" ana from their invasion and conquest."

Then he shewed them her majesty's picture, which they so admired and honoured, that it had been easy for him to have made them idolatrous thereof. The like and larger speeches he made in solemn manner to the rest of the nations, both in his passage to Guiana and to those of the borders: so, as in that part of the world the queen of England's fame was diffused with great admiration. This done, Raleigh returned to Curiapan, and though he had learned of Berreo, that Guiana was some hundred miles further than the accounts he received of captain Whiddon had represented it, he kept the knowledge thereof from his company, whom he feared would have been discouraged thereby from prosecuting the discovery.

When Raleigh had further gathered from Berreo the proceedings of the past adventurers and his own; of all which he gives us a succinct and curious history, he told him he was come upon the same design, and was resolved to see Guiana.

Berreo used many arguments to dissuade him; as that he must venture in very light and small boats to pass so many dangerous shallows, and could not carry victuals enough above half the way: that none of the country would speak with him; and, if he followed them, would burn their towns; besides, the way was long, the winter at hand, and the rivers beginning to swell; but, above all, that the kings and lords, who bordered upon Guiana, had decreed, that none of them should trade with any Christians for gold, because the same would be their own overthrow.

Raleigh, resolving however to make trial, directed his vice-admiral, captain Gifford, and captain Calfield, to turn eastward against the mouth of the river Capuri, and gave them instructions to anchor at the edge of the shoal, and, upon the
best

best of the flood to thrust over ; but they laboured in vain : nor did the flood continue so long, but the water fell before they could have passed the sands.

Then Raleigh sent one King, master of the Lion's Whelp, to try another branch, called the Amana, if either of the small ships would enter ; but, when he came to the mouth, he found it as the rest. After him went John Dowglass, who discovered four goodly entrances ; but all shoal'd and shallow in the bays leading to them.

In the mean time Raleigh, fearing the worst, caused his carpenters to cut down an old galego boat, to fit her with banks for oars, and so as she might draw but five feet ; in this went Raleigh, with gentlemen and officers to the number of three-score. In the Lion's Whelp boat and wherry they carried twenty ; captain Calfield, in his wherry, carried ten ; and a barge of Raleigh's ten more. This was all the means they had, having left their ships at Curiapan, to carry a hundred men, with weapons and provisions for a month, exposed to all the extremes of the weather, all the hazards of the water ; to lie open to the air, and upon hard boards by night ; in storms of rain, or under the burning sun by day ; to swell the wet cloaths of so many crowded together ; the dressing of their food, and that mostly stale fish, in the same place ; to be in such a labyrinth of rivers, in such a remote and unknown region ; what prison could be more loathsome and unhealthy ? what prospect more fearful and desolate ?

At first setting out, they had twenty miles of a high sea to cross in these scanty boats ; so that they were driven before the wind into the bottom of the bay of Guanipa, inhabited by inhuman cannibals,

who shot poisoned arrows : and from thence to enter one of the rivers of which Dowglass had brought tidings.

After four days, they were past ebbing and flowing, and might have wandered a whole year about, and never been able to extricate themselves, in such a general confluence, or rendezvous of streams were they now bewildered, and so resembling one another, as not to be distinguished ; but imperceptibly circulating and driving them about into the same places where they had been before ; passing between many islands and streights, whose borders were so thickly arched and overshadowed with trees, as bounded their sight to the breadth of the river and length of the avenue, while the gloominess of the prospect added horror to the lonesomeness of the place.

At length, on the twenty-second of May 1595, they fell into a river ; which, because it had no name, they called the Red-cross river, these being the first Christians who ever entered the same. When they drew into the creek, which led to a town upon this river, their Indian pilot, named Ferdinando, landing, was set upon by his countrymen, who hunted him with dogs ; whereupon Raleigh seized an old man passing that way, and threatened to cut off his head if he would not procure his pilot's liberty : but he, by his agility, soon escaped them, and swam to Raleigh's barge : however, they kept the old man, and used him kindly, assuring themselves of useful information from a native so long conversant in those parts. And, indeed, but for this accident, they had never found their way forward to the country they sought, nor back to that where their ships lay ; the old man himself being often in the utmost perplexity

perplexity which river to take, so numerous and intricate they were.

Those people who dwell in the flooded lands of this insular and broken world, or in all the tracts towards Guiana, which the eight branches of the Orenoque fashion into islands, are generally called Tivitivas, but distinguished into two tribes, a hardy and valiant generation; who, though they inhabited houses on the ground in summer, yet in winter were forced to reside in the trees, where they built themselves artificial towns, and whose families were to be seen lodged in an arm or branch of those aerial or vegetable tenements; for between May and September those islands are overflowed in some places twenty feet high by the said grand river of Orenoque.

Departing from this quarter of the Tivitivas, which was under the division or tribe called Ciawana, he kept passing up the river with the flood, and anchoring in the ebb; yet the third day of his entering the river aforesaid, his galley run a-ground, and stuck so fast, they all thought their discovery was at an end, and that the greatest number of them must live like rooks, and build their nests in the boughs; but, after emptying her ballast, and much labour, they got her afloat at the end of the fourth day, and struck into another river called the Great Amana, spacious and without winding, being one of the fairest branches of the Grand Orenoque: but here the flood of the sea left them, and every man, from the highest to the lowest, was forced to tug by turns at the oar for several days, against a rapid current, and in a most sultry clime; for they were now in five degrees of the Line. Many goodly rivulets they passed on either side, which Raleigh named in his map, and shewed their rise and descent.

When three days more were passed over, his company began as well to despair at the length of the way, as to languish through excessive heat; and well might their courage, now their provision also began to fail; yet now had they most need of strength and vigour, when the current of the river grew most boisterous and violent against them.

Here Raleigh had a great task to keep up the spirits of his disconsolate companions, which could not be done without being ever foremost to endure labour, and the last who gratified himself with refreshment. He also strictly commanded his pilots to promise an end every next day; which honest deceit he used so often, they were forced to assure them it would be at every reach.

Thus, while he was giving them hopes of attaining the land where their patience should be rewarded with plenty, Providence seems to have rewarded his trust in her, by happily shifting the scene, and presenting the most beautiful landscape they had ever beheld. For here mountains, crowned with garlands of fruitful trees, invited one sense; and verdant plains of many miles extent, enamelled with groups of odorous flowers, regaled another. Birds of such sorts and colours as they had never seen, tempted them to supply themselves by their fowling pieces; and fishes of various kinds, by their nets; without which, having little or no bread, and less drink, only the thick and troubled water of the river, they had been in the greatest extremity.

Now the old Ciawanian they had taken (as before mentioned) persuading them he would lead them to a town up the branch of a river on the right-hand, where they might be supplied with all conveniences, and return before night; Raleigh, leaving

leaving his galley, took eight musketeers in his barge, and, with Gifford and Calfield in their wherries, having eight musketeers more, entered the mouth of that river; but rowed till sun-set, and saw no sign of the town even till they were forty miles distant from the galley, and the rowers were ready to give up the ghost. They had certainly hanged this pilot, but that their necessities were his security; for it was quite dark, and they knew not their way back again; but, as they proceeded, the river grew so narrow, and was so over-spread with trees from side to side, that they were all forced with their swords to cut a way for their oars.

About one o'clock after midnight they discerned a light, and heard the barking of dogs: soon after they found the village, and there they were stored with provisions, according to the promises of the old pilot.

In the mean time, the company in the galley manned out a boat in search of them, but next day they returned, and continued their course, after making this hungry and hazardous voyage for fourscore miles in that river; which, besides other strange fishes of marvellous bigness, abounded with those ugly serpents called crocodiles; whence the people named it the river of Lagartos.

Raleigh had a young negro attending upon him in his galley, who, leaping out to swim in the mouth of this river, was, in the sight of them all, instantly devoured by one of these amphibious animals.

Not long after, being again in want of victuals, they took two canoes laden with excellent bread, being run ashore by the Indians by them called Arwacas, who fled to hide themselves in the woods; fearing, through the prepossessions of the Spaniards,

that Raleigh and his company were cannibals. Raleigh pursuing them, in hopes of some intelligence, found, as he was creeping through the bushes, a refiner's basket, there being in it quicksilver, saltpetre, and divers other materials, for the trial of metals; and also the dust of some ore that had been refined: but in two other canoes which escaped them, they heard of a good quantity of ore and gold.

Raleigh then landed more men, and offered five hundred pounds to any of his soldiers who should take one of the Spaniards, whom they thought to have also landed in these last canoes; but they escaped while he was pursuing the former: however, while he was in search of the Spaniards, he found the Arwacas hidden in the woods, who had been pilots for the Spaniards; of which Raleigh kept the chief for his pilot, and carried him to Guiana; by whom he understood in what parts the Spaniards laboured for gold, which he divulged to few of his company, knowing both the season of the year and other conveniences would be wanting to work any mine himself. Therefore he hastened away from this place, his purpose being at that time rather to discover what he could of the country, and win over the people to subjection.

Besides this restraint from all greediness after their gold, there was another virtue he no less strictly observed, which highly advanced him in the esteem of all those Indians: for, whereas the Spaniards were wont to satisfy their lusts without controul upon their wives and daughters, Raleigh suffered not a man of his so much as to touch any of their women.

“ I protest,” says he, “ before the majesty of
 “ the living God, that I neither knew, nor believe
 “ that any of our company, one or other, by vio-
 “ lence,

“ lence, or otherwise, ever knew any of their wo-
 “ men; and yet we saw many hundreds, and had
 “ many in our power, and of those very young and
 “ excellently favoured, which came among us
 “ without deceit, stark naked.

And, because he found it a very troublesome work to keep the meaner sort from pilfering and spoil, when they went to any of the Indians houses, Raleigh caused his interpreter, at every place, when they departed, to enquire after the losses or wrongs that had been done, and, if he found any thing had been stolen or taken by violence, either the same was restored, and the party punished in their sight, or else it was paid for to their utmost demand.

After he was recruited with bread and other provisions, which greatly encouraged his men, who now cried out, “ Let us go on, we care not how far;” Raleigh sent back in one of the canoes the old Ciawan, and Ferdinando, his first pilot, giving them such things as they desired for their voyage; and wrote a letter to his ships, which they delivered; and then he went on under the pilotage of one of those Arwacas he had taken, whom the Spaniards had christened Martin: but the next, or second day after they run a-ground again with their galley, and she was very near being cast away with their new store of victuals. They lay on the sand one whole night, and were in far greater despair of disengaging her than before, because they had no tide of flood to help them.

In the midst of their fears, they bethought them of fastening an anchor upon the land, and with main strength drew her off: so on the fifteenth day of their absence from their ships, they discovered at a distance, to their great joy, the mountains of
 Guiana,

Guiana ; and, towards the evening, were brought, by a northerly gale, in sight of the great Orenoque, which they soon after entered ; a river of vast extent and magnitude, lying mostly east and west, even from the sea to Quito in Peru, thought to be three hundred miles wide at the mouth, one thousand miles navigable for ships, two thousand for lesser vessels, and discharging itself by sixteen arms into the sea, whereby many parts of the Spanish Indies might most easily be invaded. From other observations it appears, in many places of the channel, to be twenty fathom deep ; and in few that are shoally, less than two and a half. It was called, by the succeeding voyagers to this place, in honour of sir Walter, after his name. One of them gives his reason for it in these words :
 “ Of the worthiness of this river, because I cannot say enough, I will speak nothing ; we have presumed to call it by the name of Raleana, because yourself was the first of our nation who ever entered the same.”

Now, when Raleigh had procured one of the bordering princes, named Toparimaca, a skilful old pilot, who was his brother, and who perfectly knew this river, he sailed up a branch thereof, having on the left hand a great island which they call Assapana ; and thence along the banks of several other islands, which they chose rather to anchor at than by the main land, because of the tortoises eggs found there in abundance, to their great relief ; and for the convenience of casting their nets from the rocks, of a blue metalline colour, which looked like steel-ore. So keeping always westward up the river, there opened after a while a land on the right side, which appeared a spacious champaign, and the banks perfectly red.

Raleigh

Raleigh, his cousin, nephew John Guibert, and a guard of soldiers, to march to the banks, and discover what prospect it offered; and finding it a level of an unbounded sea, it proved, as their pilot informed them, the mouth of Saima, reaching to Cumana and Caracas in the West-Indies, which are an hundred and twenty leagues to the north, and inhabited by four principal nations, whereof one were the Aroras, as black as Negroes, but of smooth hair; a desperate people, using the strongest and most deadly poison of all others on their arrows.

Raleigh was most curious to know the composition of this poison, and what remedies could be had against the dreadful effects of it: for, besides the mortality of the wound, the patient is afflicted with most insufferable torment, and accompanied with such irksome symptoms, that the physician cannot abide the cure. None of the Spaniards could ever extort this secret, either by kindness or cruelty; and, indeed, but few of the Indians, besides their priests and soothsayers, knew it. Raleigh was therefore more beholden to the Guianians than any body; for Antonio de Berrio told him, that he could never attain to the knowledge thereof: "and yet they taught me," says Raleigh, "the best way of healing this, as well as all other poisons."

Then he tells us those medicines which are vulgar, and serve for the ordinary poison, are made of the juice of a root called tupara, which also marvellously quenches the heat of burning fevers, and heals inward wounds; and that those of common poisoned arrows were wont to be healed by some

some of the Spaniards with the juice of garlic. But this he communicates as a general rule for all men that shall hereafter travel the Indies where poisoned arrows are used, that they abstain from drink; for if they take any liquor into their body, whereunto they will be exceedingly provoked by drought, and drink before the wound is dressed, or immediately upon it, there is no relief but present death.

After having passed the mountain Aio, and a great island which he mentions, he reached, on the fifth day of his entering the great river aforesaid, as high as the province of Aromaia, and anchoring at the port of Morequito, which is three hundred miles within the land, upon the said great river Orenoque, he sent a messenger to the old king of Aromaia, named Topiowary, who came the next day before noon on foot from his house, and returned the same evening, being twenty-eight miles backwards and forwards, though himself was one hundred and ten years of age.

He had many attendants of both sexes, who came also to wonder at the English, and brought them great plenty of flesh, fowl and fish, with divers sorts of fruit, and among them abundance of pinas, the most excellent of all kinds, especially those of Guiana; besides bread, wine, and a sort of parroquites no bigger than wrens: and one of them presented Raleigh with a little beast which the Spaniards call armadilla, having his body scaled or plated over like the rhinoceros, with a white horn growing in his hinder parts as big as a hunting-horn. This horn is recommended in medicine; and the flesh for food, since Raleigh soon after made a feast of it.

When

When the old king had rested himself a while in a tent which Raleigh had caused to be pitched for him, they entered, by the interpreter, into discourse about the murder of Morequito, his predecessor, and the other violations of the Spaniards. Then Raleigh acquainted him with the cause of his coming thither, whose servant he was, and that it was his queen's pleasure he should undertake this voyage to deliver them from the tyranny of the Spaniards; dilating at large on her majesty's power, justice, and clemency towards all oppressed nations: all which being with great reverence and attention received, he began to sound the old man touching Guiana; as, what sort of commonwealth it was, how governed, of what strength and policy, of what extent; with whom in alliance or enmity; lastly, the distance and way to enter the heart of the country? The king gave such ample and perfect accounts of these particulars, that Raleigh wondered to find a man of such gravity, judgment, and good discourse, without the help of learning or breeding.

After his departure, Raleigh sailed westward to view the famous river Caroli, both because it was so wonderful in itself, and led to the strongest nations of all the frontiers, who were enemies to the Epuremei, subjects to the Inga, or emperor of Guiana and Manoa. Even when he was short of it, or lower down than the port of Morequito, he heard the roaring falls of this river; but when he entered it with his barge and wherries, thinking to have gone up some forty miles to the Cassipagotos, he was not able, with a barge of eight oars to row one stone's throw in an hour; and yet the river is as broad as the Thames at Woolwich. Therefore, encamping on the banks, he sent off an Indian to acquaint the nations upon the
river

river of his arrival and his purpose; and that he desired to see the lords of Canuria, who dwelt in that province.

Then one of the princes came down, named Wonuretona, with many of his people, and brought great store of provisions, as the rest had done. By him Raleigh found, the Carolians were not only enemies to the Spaniards, but most of all to the Epuremei, who abounded in gold; and there were three mighty nations at the head of that river which would join him against them.

He was further informed, by one captain George, whom he had taken with Berreo, that near the banks of this river there was a great silver mine; but the rivers were all now so risen, that it was not possible for the strength of man, with any boat to row against the stream. Therefore he dispatched a party, between thirty and forty, to coast the river by land, while himself, with two or three officers and half a dozen shot, marched over land to view the strange and wonderful overfalls of the said river Caroli, which roared at such a distance, and the plains adjoining, with the rest of the province of Canuri.

When they had got to the top of the first hills over-looking the river, they beheld that prodigious breach of waters which poured down Caroli, and how it ran in three streams for twenty miles together. No less than ten or twelve of these steep cataracts appeared in sight, each as high above the other as a church-tower, which rushed down with such violence, that the very rebound of the waters made the place seem as if it had been all over covered with a great shower of rain: and here Raleigh says, he never saw a more beautiful country, nor more lively prospects; the hills so raised up and down about the vallies; the waters winding into
such

such various branches, the plains so clear of bush and stubble, and covered all with fair green grass; the ground of hard sand, and easy for the march either of horse or foot; the deer crossing in every path; the birds, towards the evening, singing on every tree a thousand several tunes, with cranes and herons of white, crimson and carnation, perched along the river banks; the air refreshed with gentle easterly breezes; and every stone they stooped to take up, promising either gold or silver by its complexion.

His company, at their return, brought several of these stones home; which they rather found coloured outwardly like gold, than any of that metal fixed in them; for those who had least judgment or experience, kept only such as glittered, and would not be persuaded but they were rich, because they shone, thereby bred an opinion, that all the rest were no better: yet some of these stones Raleigh shewed afterwards to a Spaniard of the Carraccas, who told him it was El madre del oro; that is, The mother of gold; and that the mine was further in the ground.

Among the goodly rivers beyond the Caroli, there is one named Caora. Upon this branch, it was attested to Raleigh, by the most intelligent and credible chiefs of the adjacent parts, there dwelt a nation of people whose heads appear not above their shoulders; which, because every body in the provinces of Aromaia and Canuri also affirmed, he was inclined to believe. They are called Ewaipanaoma, and reported to have their eyes in their shoulders, and mouths in their breasts, or in a level with them. It was further avouched to him, they used bows, arrows, and clubs thrice as big as any of the Guianians; and, that one being taken prisoner

prisoner the year before, was brought into Aro-
maia.

When Raleigh doubted of such a race to the prince, hereafter mentioned, who came with him into England, he answered, it was no wonder among them, for they had lately slain many hundreds of his father's people.

Raleigh observes, That Mandevill had before written of such a nation ; and, that since the East-Indian discoveries, we find his relations true, which were before held incredible. Further, that when he afterwards arrived at Cumana, he spoke with a Spaniard eminent for his travels, and withal for his credit and veracity ; who, hearing that Raleigh had been as far in Guiana as Caroli, immediately asked him if he had seen those people, and declared he had seen many of them.

Then Raleigh names some French merchants of London, who were there present, and heard what this Spaniard had thus asserted. “ Whether it is true or no,” says he, “ the matter is not great, neither can there be any profit in the imagination : for my own part, I saw them not ; but am resolved, that so many people did not all combine or forethink to make the report.”

After all, whether the observation of any garment loosely rising above the shoulders of these people, or the crouching posture in which they were so much seen, by their constant exercise of archery, might not first give some rise to this report, I leave for others more largely to explain ; and how far the same person shall here be condemned for an implicit faith, who was, as we have read, censured for the want of it.

This consideration may be further offered, for what Raleigh also repeats, not only from the writers
of

of all nations, concerning the modern Amazons in these parts, but from their very neighbours: for, having told us that Orellana first discovered Marañon, which is called the River of Amazons, and also after the said discoverer's own name, Raleigh was inquisitive to know whether there were any of those warlike women, from whom this river should be so called, in these American parts, who are so famed in ancient histories to have been in Asia and Africa; and was assured by an ancient Cacique, that there was such a nation of women on the south of the said river, in the provinces of Topago, whose manners and customs, as they described to him, had some conformity with what is recorded of the ancient Amazons, as, they cohabited with men but one month in the year; sent them the male children, and kept only the females; "but that they cut off their right breasts," says he, "I do not find to be true."

He was further told, they scrupled not to accompany with the prisoners they took in war at any time; but, in the end, constantly put them to death: and that, as others of the bordering nations, these women wore certain plates of gold, which they had sometimes exchanged with other countries for spleen-stones, which are of a green colour; "of which," says Raleigh, "I saw several in Guiana;" for every king, or cacique, commonly has one, which their wives chiefly wear, and esteem as great jewels.

When Raleigh, with his company, lay at anchor on the coast of Canuri, and had taken knowledge of all the nations upon the head and branches of the Caroli; and found out many tribes who were enemies to the Epuremei, and the new conquerors, having now wandered for near a month,

distant from his ships above four hundred miles; besides the long digressions up many arms and branches on every side by the way, they found the winter season advance a-pace, and the Orenoque threaten them with greater fury every day than other; the time they spent at Trinidad, and the company they there in vain waited for, being both wanted here to compleat their enterprize: for the most violent storms of thunder and lightning which now so frequently broke out, poured down such floods of rain, as made all the rivers rise and rage most terribly; so that if they waded them over shoes in the morning outward, homeward they could not come, even the same day, without wading to their necks, or swimming before they could reach their boats. Besides, they all grew very uneasy to themselves and one another for want of shifting, no man having room to bestow any other apparel than what he wore on his back; and that was washed through to his skin often ten times a day.

These inconveniences, with those of having no instruments to try any mines, or men sufficient to secure them against the guarded nations near the imperial city of Manoa, captain Preston having failed them, made Raleigh conclude there was now no advancing thither, or staying longer here; but, that he might well content himself for his voyage with the various discoveries of the situation, products, and riches of the country, which he had thus far made; with the interest and friendship he had thus spaciouly procured; and which no adventurer to those regions ever had in a much larger space of time, with much greater aids and provisions, the diligence and dexterity to equal.

As

As he returned to the east, he spent some time in discovering the river towards the sea, which he had not surveyed. In a day's time he arrived again at the port of Morequito; for, gliding down the stream, he went without labour, though against the wind, little less than an hundred miles a day. When he came to anchor, he was very desirous of some further conference with old Topiowari, who soon, upon notice, came, with a multitude of his people, flocking down to Raleigh's tent upon the shore, every one loaded with presents.

When the old king was refreshed, and the crowd retired, Raleigh, by his interpreter, entered into a long conference with them; telling him that, as both the Epuremei and the Spaniards were his enemies, the one having conquered Guiana already, and the other endeavoured to get it from both, he desired to be instructed both in the best ways to the golden parts of Guiana, and the civilized towns, or appareled people of Inga.

The king answered, he could not perceive Raleigh meant to proceed to the great city of Manoa, because neither the season of the year, nor the strength of his company would enable him; for he remembered that, in the plains of Maqueregua-rai, the first civil town of Guiana, where all the gold plates were made which were scattered over the neighbouring nations, and about four days journey from his own, three hundred Spaniards were destroyed, who had no friends among the borders; therefore advised Raleigh never to invade the strong parts of Guiana, without the help of all those nations which were their enemies.

Raleigh asked, if he thought the company he had with him were sufficient to take that town; the king thought they were, and proffered to assist him with all his borderers, if he would leave him a

guard of fifty men upon his departure ; but Raleigh knowing, if they should escape the Guanians, the Spaniards expecting supplies, would repay upon them this treatment at Trinidad, very plausibly excused himself.

Hereupon the king desired he would forbear him and his country at this time ; for, if the Epuremei should know he had given Raleigh any aid or intelligence, he should soon be over-run by them ; nor could he avoid the Spaniards, if they should return, who had before led him seventeen days in a chain like a dog, till he paid one hundred plates of gold and several chains of spleen-stones for his ransom ; but if Raleigh would return in due season next year, he would engage all the borderers in the enterprize ; for that he could not more desire to make himself master of Guiana, than they to assist him ; having been plundered by the Epuremei of their women, whom to recover they would willingly renew the war, without hopes of further profit ; for the old king complained of it as a matter of grievous restraint that now they were confined to three or four wives a piece, who were accustomed to enjoy ten or a dozen ; while the lords of their enemies had no less than fifty or one hundred.

But they seem to have had a political reason for this recovery, to strengthen their alliance and increase their forces, these frontiers having been much depopulated between the subjects of Inga and the Spaniards.

Raleigh, finding it absolutely improper either to leave any of his company, or attempt war upon the Epuremei till the next year, applied himself now only to learn how these people wrought these plates of gold which were dispersed about, and how they divided it from the stone. The king told him that most of their plates and images were not severed

vered from the stone; but that, on the lake of Manoa, and many other rivers thereabouts, they gathered the perfect grains of gold, and mingling a proportion of copper, the better to work it, put it in a great earthen pot, under which they encreased the fire by the breath of men, through long canes fastened to the holes round the said pot, till the metal dissolved, which then they cast into moulds of stone and clay, and so made those plates and images; whereof Raleigh brought two sorts into England, more to shew the manner of them than their value: for he gave more pieces of gold of the twenty shilling coin, with the queen's effigies upon them, among these people, to wear in honour of her majesty, and to engage them in her service, than he received; so little did he make his desire of gold known to them.

He also brought over some gold ore of their mines, "whereof I know some is as rich," says he, "as any the earth yields, and of which I know there is sufficient if nothing else were to be hoped for:" but they wanted time, hands and instruments, to break the ground, without which there could be no working of mines.

"We saw," adds he, "all the hills with stones of the colour of gold and silver, and we tried them to be no marquesite; and therefore such as the Spaniards call El madre del oro, or the Mother of Gold, which is an undoubted assurance of the general abundance thereof; and myself saw the outside of many mines of the Sparre, which I know to be the same that all covet in this world; and of those more than I will speak of."

Now Raleigh, besides having learned the riches of the country, having also won the affections of

the people, and received a faithful promise of the chiefs in those provinces of Aromaja and Canuri to become servants to her majesty, took his leave of old Topiowari, and received his son, prince Cayworaco, as a pledge betwixt them, whom he brought into England, where he was christened Gualtero with great solemnity, leaving with the old king two of his own people in exchange; the one named Francis Sparrow, who being a good draughtsman, and capable of describing a country with his pen, desired to be left for that purpose, whom Raleigh instructed to travel as far as he could to Manoa, with such merchandize as he committed to his care. The other was a boy, who waited upon him, named Hugh Goodwin, for whom he left orders to be taught the language of the country. This done, he weighed anchor, and coasted the river on Guiana side, because he came towards it on the north side, by the lawns of Saima.

There was a powerful calique, named Putijma, who accompanied Raleigh and his men from Aromaja, with promises to lead them to a mountain called Iconuri, which contained a mine of gold; "and which," says Raleigh, "he performed."

Raleigh travelled a great way towards it himself along the river Mana, till, through weariness, he was forced, with some of his attendants, to rest on the banks of a lake in the delightful valley of Oiana; where one of his guides kindling a fire with two sticks, they stayed a while to dry their shirts; sending captain Keymis the while with a party under that calique to take cognizance of the said mine, and promised to meet him at the river Cumaca, in his way to Emeria, the province of Carapara, one of the greatest lords of the Orenoqueponi, with whom

whom he sought to establish a league: and as Raleigh returned by the river Mana, towards the said province, he saw himself many rocks like gold ore, and on the left hand a round mountain of mineral stone.

From hence returning down the stream, he coasted the province of Parino; but the branches of the rivers he here passed, with Aio and other mountains, he reserved to the representation in his map; which, for the numerous and distant rivers and countries therein occasionally referred to, appears to have been a very accurate and comprehensive performance.

In the river of Winciapora he saw what they call the mountain of crystal, which looked at a distance like a white church tower of exceeding height, over the top of which a mighty river rushed down with a prodigious noise. Berreo told him, there were diamonds and other stones of great value thereon, which blazed at a great distance.

Upon this river Raleigh rested a while, and marched to a town of the same name, where he found the natives all as drunk as beggars, it being the time of their festival. Here Raleigh refreshed himself with the provisions of the place, and the delicate wine of Pinas: but understanding that Carapana was retired from Emeria; and imagining, because he was an old subtle prince, it was to wait till he should return next year, then join him, if the English were strong enough to tempt his alliance; if not, that he might excuse his retirement to the Spaniards, as though it were in fear of their new visitors; Raleigh spent no more time in seeking after him; but making to the river Cumaca, he met with Keymis, and took his leave of Putijma, who, of all others, most lamented his departure; for the Orenoque was now swoln most dreadfully,

so that it was impossible to return by the way he entered, for the river of Amana could not be sailed back by any means, the breeze and current of the sea were so outrageous; therefore he followed the branch of Capuri, which entered into the sea eastward of his ships, that he might bear with them before the wind; and great need there was so to do, having by that way as much to cross of the main sea, in their little boats, after they came to the river's mouth, as between Gravelin and Dover. But, when they arrived at the sea-side, and anchored in the mouth of Capuri, there arose a mighty storm, and the river's mouth was at least a league broad, so that they run before night close under the land with their boats, and brought the galley as near as they could, which had much ado to live, and was often near sinking with all her men.

Raleigh was in the utmost doubt what course to take; either to venture in the galley through six foot water on the sands for two leagues together and that in the channel, when she drew five; or trust in such a raging wind and sea to cross over in his barge. At last, seeing the tempest increase the longer he tarried, he took Gifford, Calfield, and Creenvil, in his barge; and about midnight thrust into the sea, leaving the galley to come by daylight. "Thus faintly cheering one another in shew of courage," says Raleigh, "it pleased God by nine o'clock the next morning we discovered the isle of Trinidad." So they kept along the shore to Curiapan, where they found their ships at anchor; "than which," says he, "there never was to us a more joyful sight;" especially when they found, upon meeting together, they had lost but one man, before mentioned, through so many extremes of wet, heat, hunger, want of rest, sleep, lodging, and such like violent hardships, in this
toilsome

toilsome and dangerous adventure, as drove them to many unusual and unhealthy shifts, especially in their diet; such as feeding upon many strange and corrupted fruits; upon fresh fish without seasoning; crocodiles, sea-cows, antas, and armed hogs; upon all sorts of the land or water, good and bad, without order or measure; and yet no calen- ture befel them, or other pestilent diseases which usually infect all regions so near the line; so whole- some was the country, or so happily suited to their constitutions.

In his return homewards he touched at Cumana, to store and refresh himself with such provisions as he wanted; but the Spaniards refused to supply him, at which he threatened the town; and upon their refusing also to save it by such reasonable ransom as they had just before offered captain Preston, he set it on fire. The like he did at St. Mary's, and at Rio de la Hach, as we are informed by Camden and others; some of whom affirm, he acquired not only great glory hereby, but riches; the latter of which will be thought doubtful to those who have read the Spaniards had removed their effects to the mountains, before they entered into a capitulation with Preston.

On the thirteenth of July, when the said captain Preston, with the rest of his company, were under cape St. Anthony, the westernmost part of the isle of Cuba, "we met," says the writer of his voyage, "with the honourable knight sir Walter
"Raleigh, returning from his painful and happy
"discovery of Guiana, and his surprize of the isle
"of Trinidad; so with glad hearts we kept him and
"his fleet of three ships company, for he mentions
no more," "till the twentieth day at night, at
"which time we lost them."

When

When Raleigh was arrived in England, he soon applied himself to digest the observations he had made in his discoveries; and they were, not many months after, committed to the press. Several authors have bestowed characters in praise of this discourse, which manifests such a wonderful genius in compassing the knowledge of so many places, productions, and people, with so small a power, and in so short a time.

But Raleigh, with all his zeal and assiduity for the honour and advantage of his country, could never induce the state to proceed in the plantation of Guiana; not so much through any real incredulity of the emoluments that would accrue from it; as through that malignant jealousy which so eternally biased the domestic competitors for royal favour, to curb the foreign services of enterprising men, lest the achievements of the one should outshine the administrations of the other: whence we may here observe, that he, whose engaging qualities had gained him such influence, such an ascendancy over the most savage and uncivilized nations, found no dispositions so barbarous and intractable among those strangers, as he did in his own country; like Hercules himself, who having, by his glorious labours, shewed his power of subduing and taming all other monsters, found envy and detraction invincible at last. That Raleigh's labours were attended with the same fate, he has himself sufficiently discovered in that Dedication which, with so much eloquence, modesty and generosity, he made of his Discourse upon Guiana aforesaid, to the lord-admiral Howard and sir Robert Cecil: for, notwithstanding the difficulty and dangers of the voyage, "it appears," says Raleigh therein, "that
 " I made no other bravado of going to sea than
 " was

“ was meant; and that I was never hidden in
 “ Cornwall, or elsewhere, as was supposed. They
 “ have grossly belied me, that fore-judged I
 “ would rather become a servant to the Spanish
 “ king than return; and the rest were much mis-
 “ taken, who would have persuaded that I was too
 “ careful and sensual to undertake a journey of so
 “ great travel; but,” as he generously continues,
 “ if what I have done receive the gracious con-
 “ struction of a painful pilgrimage, and purchase
 “ the least remission, I shall think all too little,
 “ and that there were wanting to the rest many
 “ miseries.”

But Raleigh was in hopes it would appear there
 was now a way found out to answer every man's
 longing; a richer Indies than any the king of Spain
 enjoyed, which if the queen would patronize, he
 was willing to end the rest of his days in reducing it
 to a total subjection. Whatever he further advanced
 of this kind, diffidence and detraction were so pre-
 dominant, that, because some of Raleigh's company
 brought over marcasite for gold, as he informs us
 a little further, there were some who would not
 believe the real gold ore which he brought, and
 which he had helped to dig out of the rocks
 with his own dagger, was of greater value. Nay,
 when many trials had been made of this ore,
 wherein some qualities were proved by one West-
 wood, a refiner in Wood-street, to hold after the
 rate of twelve or thirteen thousand pounds a ton:

Other parcels, by Mr. Bulman and Dimock,
 assay-masters, found also to hold after the rate of
 twenty-three thousand pounds the ton; and a third
 sort tried by Mr. Palmer, comptroller of the Mint,
 and Mr. Dimock, in Goldsmith's Hall, holding
 after the rate of twenty-six thousand nine hundred
 pounds the ton; who tried also some gold-dust of
 the

the same mine, which held eight pound six ounces weight of gold in the hundred, and an image of copper, made in Guiana, which held a third part of gold. When all this was proved, there were those who would not yet believe it gold of Guiana; but that Raleigh purchased it upon the African coast, and carried it over thither.

Raleigh himself declares that he had laboured all his life in the promotion of those attempts which promised either an enlargement of our own national interest or an abatement of the encroaching greatness of the Spaniard, who, in his judgment, is not to be more easily reduced than by such a war; from so many weak nations are his treasures gathered, and so far separated from mutual succour: but because he thought such resolution and preparations were not to be hoped for in haste, he doubted not, if her majesty would embrace the offer of those provinces, and that empire now discovered by him, before they were engrossed by the enemy; but it would yield greater quantities of treasure than all the king of Spain possesses from the Indies, both East and West; and he would be contented to lose her good opinion for ever, and forfeit his life, if the country should not be found to exceed whatever had been promised in his discourse of it.

Though he has therein written, he doubts not, after the first or second year, that the same should be colonized, but to see in London a contraction-house of more receipt for Guiana, than that in Seville for the West-Indies: and is positive, "That,
" if there was but a small army a-foot in Guiana,
" marching towards Manoa, the chief city of Inga,
" would yield to her majesty, by composition,
" so many hundred thousand pounds yearly, as
" as should both defend us from all enemies abroad,
" and

“ and defray all expences at home ; and that he
 “ would besides pay a garrison of three or four
 “ thousand soldiers very royally, to defend him
 “ against other nations ; for he cannot but know
 “ how his predecessors were beaten out by the Spa-
 “ niards, and that they have ever since, with the
 “ greatest cruelties, sought the entry of his coun-
 “ try, wherefore he would doubtless be brought
 “ to tribute ; if not, having neither shot nor iron
 “ weapon in his empire, he might easily be con-
 “ quered.”

All this would not do to raise the saternine ge-
 nius of the state to pursue this action ; and upon
 this occasion we might observe, as Raleigh did af-
 terwards upon another from a poet of his own time,
 That “ some great men cloathing their private
 “ envy in the fair colours of the public good,
 “ curbed the most needful and noble undertakings
 “ with distrust, through a specious care for the
 “ service of the state.”

Among these sage and sceptical politicians, we
 may discern sir Robert Cecil to be one who, in his
 conferences with some of the speculative geogra-
 phers of his time, would shew how careful he was
 not to be overtaken with any partial affection to
 the planting of Guiana, as we are told by one of
 them, whom he consulted about the matter :
 nevertheless, Raleigh's advice was not wholly dis-
 regarded ; for that part of it, proposing to drive
 the Spaniards to a defensive war, but upon their
 own proper coasts and harbours, was approved of ;
 and Raleigh himself chosen, with other command-
 ers, to put it in execution.

In the latter end of January following, he fitted
 out captain Keymis with a couple of ships, the
 Darling and Discoverer ; but provided, rather to
 continue

continue the correspondence and peaceful traffic with the Indians, than to strengthen them in a warlike manner with forces and accoutrements; which was what they most desired and expected.

When Keymis arrived at Guiana, he found his friends much dispersed, but yet enquiring what was become of sir Walter Raleigh, whom they had been prepared some months to join,; were mighty joyful to hear he was not slain at Cumana, as the Spaniards, now much encreased among them, had attested; but sadly disappointed that he had not sent a larger fleet to expel them, and conquer their neighbouring enemies up to the imperial city.

Keymis further learned, that Berreo, being left at Cumana, and lodged in the house of one Fashardo; the governors of the Carraccas and Margarita, conspiring together, had sent into Spain to inform king Philip, that Berreo, being retired to spend the remainder of his declining days in privacy and ease, was utterly unable to pursue the enterprize; yet of what importance his majesty's regard thereto was, since so eminent an English cavalier as sir Walter Raleigh, had, by a vigorous progress and most artful address, made such conquests and discoveries in some parts, and rendered himself so extensively engaging in all wherever he came, that, unless they had power given them to undertake the charge, all their past endeavours and future hopes in those parts would come to nothing.

But Berreo's camp-master having been long before sent into Spain, with gold enough gotten out of Guiana, to levy and furnish five hundred men, so effectually solicited Berreo's cause, that present order was given for victualling and manning of
ten

ten ships to be sent to him ; so well worth his care did the king of Spain think this undertaking : and further, this gold bore such weight, that the king commanded eighteen ships more to stop at Trinidad, and not follow their other directions, before they saw that place secured from enemies. But Berreo himself suspecting that speedy dispatch, returned to Carapana's port with fifteen men, the scattered remnant that Raleigh had left him. Those governors followed him, and anticipating the authority they promised themselves from Spain, entered Guiana with their men, and determined to murder Berreo, who fled towards Caroli, expecting his son Antonio de Ximenes with assistance from the new kingdom of Granada. And now Topiowary, who had fled to the mountains, being dead, where the English boy Raleigh left was devoured by a tyger, Sanjago, a Spaniard, in the faction of the governors aforesaid, took Francis Sparrow prisoner, who was also left by Raleigh ; but having gathered great plenty of gold, he ransomed his life with it ; yet was kept in captivity by the Spaniards for some years.

After this, the faction returned to Trinidad, and begun to rebuild their town, where, unhappily to these new lawless rulers, the twenty-eight sail of ships arrived from Spain in February following, and took Sanjago prisoner, whom Keymis found in chains, expecting to be put to death. The other actors in this interlude vanishing in canoes, recovered Margarita and Cumana again.

When eighteen of those ships had left all things in good order, they departed according to their instructions, leaving the other ten to fortify at Conquerabia, for the reception of sir Walter Raleigh's fleet. Nor was it above four months after the arrival of those ships from Spain, that the king

king had prepared several others, it being in June 1596, to transport a new supply of whole families, to the number of six hundred persons, for Guiana.

When Keymis was advanced to Topiowary's port, he found the Spaniards under Berreo had planted a village there, and that a rocky island against the mouth of Carolis was their fort or refuge; but now leaving both town and island, they gathered at the mouth of that river, and had sent for cannon to defend the passage "to those mines," says Keymis to Raleigh, "from whence your ore and white stones were taken the last year:" adding, "We all, not without grief to see ourselves thus defeated, and our earnest hopes made void, were witnesses of this their remove."

Then Keymis resolved to seek out Putijma, who, with some friends, was retired to the high lands, not far from the mountain Aio, intending, if the Indians should think themselves too weak with this help to displant the Spaniards, to set some of them to work, for hatchets and knives, to return him grains of gold and white stones from such places as they should be directed to: but when he came to the place of their abode, they were fled, apprehending him and his company perhaps to have been a party of Spaniards.

When Keymis was arrived at the port of Carapana, this casique sent some of his people in canoes to assure him he would come down next day and have a conference with him; but not coming in five or six days, he at last sent one of his aged attendants to excuse the fatigue of such a journey, so unfavourable were the ways, and himself so disabled with years and infirmities.

This old envoy then enlarged upon the inconveniencies they felt in using the Spaniards assistance
against



against their enemies, especially when he compared their conduct with that of the queen of England's subjects under her great commander.

Keymis, finding it was in vain to hope for a conference with that well-wishing, but wary casique, and, having sent him a present of iron, gave assurance to all the Indians who repaired to him of his speedy return with succours; promising to make them all rich in hatchets, knives, and beads, if they would only reserve good store of their cassavi, which they used for bread, and some plates of gold, for exchange: and, having further spent some time in the discovery of above fifty several rivers, tribes or nations of people, towns and casiques in this voyage, he directed his course homewards, and arrived at Portland in the latter end of June, having spent five months in going, staying, and returning.

As soon as he got home, he found Raleigh had been gone upon an important expedition out of the nation near a month: therefore he had time to draw up his account of this voyage (whence the passages which more immediately relate to our subject are extracted) ready to present him with at his return into England; which he did, and dedicated it, "To the approved, right valorous, and worthy knight, sir Walter Raleigh, lord-warden, &c."

When Keymis returned into England, Raleigh was gone upon that enterprize which proved the most renowned of any the English undertook at that time against the Spaniards: for the queen having heard they had received encouragement from Tiroen, the Irish rebel, to threaten her with a new invasion; that because she had strengthened their enemies, they would take the shortest course, and begin with England: therefore had made great naval preparations, to which they might not be a

little emboldened both by the death of her two brave old commanders, Drake and Hawkins; and again, by their late success, no further from her own coasts than Calais; which, taking by storm, under cardinal Albert, archduke of Austria, and governor of the Netherlands, the thunder of the Spanish artillery alarmed her majesty's ears in her palace at Greenwich.

This situation of affairs, made the queen determine, to use the most effectual means for preventing the mischiefs of an assault, by taking the start of them, and sending a force sufficient to destroy the Spanish shipping in their own harbours. Accordingly, a powerful fleet was fitted out to the number of one hundred and fifty sail, according to Camden from Stow, and Speed from both.

The lord-admiral Howard, and the earl of Essex were joined in commission, generals of this enterprize; but the queen, considering what there might be wanting to keep an old head and a young one, a cool and a warm one in due temper and harmony, allotted them a council of war in these words: “ For the better and more orderly execution of this your commission, and of those former articles comprised in these our instructions, we do ordain, that there shall be two persons serving for the seas, and two that are appointed to serve for land service, to be as counsellors to you in our name, that is, the lord Thomas Howard, and sir Walter Raleigh; sir Francis Vere and sir Conyers Clifford; and, to these four, we do add sir George Carew, lieutenant of our ordnance, to make the number of five; whom also we charge, by these presents, that they will, as they will answer before God, give their counsels to you both, without

“out any private respect to either of you, for
 “love or fear, in all actions to be put in ques-
 “tion, or taken in hand; and the same delibe-
 “rately to debate, as the weight of the matter
 “shall require, before any resolution be made,
 “and before the putting of the matter in ac-
 “tion.”

There is further to be understood by those persons serving for the seas, that the lord Thomas Howard, and sir Walter Raleigh, were also constituted admirals in this expedition. Hence was the whole English fleet divided into four squadrons, and so it appears in the list aforesaid, wherein we find that which was commanded by Raleigh, consisted of twenty-two ships, one thousand three hundred and fifty-two mariners, and one thousand, eight hundred and seventy-five soldiers.

The Dutch squadron was commanded by the admiral of Holland, named Duvenvord, lord of Warmond. How Essex relished the division of authority, may be guessed at by the queen's answer to one of his letters, which she thought very strange. “You mention, says she, first a danger
 “to commit authority to any other, because you
 “are referred to your commission and instructions
 “formerly sent you, which hath no power of de-
 “putation; as who should say, that if you did
 “follow the directions of our hand, our great seal
 “in this matter should be brought to dispute the
 “validity of your warrant.”

A little farther it appears, that he had been impatient to be gone for fear he should be detained; for the queen had persuaded him to stay behind; but not prevailing, she at length told him, “Tho’
 “we meant to drive it to the last considerations
 “and utmost debates as much as could be, yet we

“ compared times so sufficiently, as a prince who
 “ knows what belongs to such a matter, that no-
 “ thing should be done to retard you (being ready)
 “ one hour : for, as we know Raleigh not to be
 “ arrived, so we know after it, some time to em-
 “ bark such an army must be required.”

Raleigh joined the fleet, and the whole army was embarked within ten days after the writing of this letter ; for, on the first of June before-mentioned, the fleet set sail from Plymouth. When they came to the north cape of Spain, they called a select council, by hanging out the flag of arms ; and then had the master and captain of every ship his sealed instructions given him, or letters of rendezvous, which were not to be opened till they were past Cape St. Vincent, unless separated by bad weather ; but to be thrown over-board in case of danger from the enemy ; and by which it appeared the voyage was determined for Cadiz. They had a fortunate progress, both as to the wind, and the taking of every ship, which could give the enemy intelligence of their approach.

On the twentieth of June, the fleet came to an anchor in the bay of St. Sebastians, short of Cadiz half a league. The lord-admiral, being careful of her majesty's ships, had resolved, with the earl of Essex, that the town should be first attempted, to the end, that both the Spanish galleons and galleys, together with the forts of Cadiz, might not all at once beat upon the English navy. Raleigh was not present at this resolution, as he himself had declared in the account of this action, which he dispatched soon after it was over to a minister of state in England.

From hence we learn the reason of Raleigh's absence at that resolution of first landing the army to have been, because he was engaged the day before

fore outward on the sea in stopping such Spanish ships as might pass out from St. Lucar or Cadiz along the coast.

When he return'd, two hours after the rest, he found the earl of Essex disembarking his soldiers, having put many companies into boats, with intention to make his descent on the west side of Cadiz; but the billows were so raging, that the boats were ready to sink at the stern of the earl, and many were lost, with some armed soldiers in them; but, because this course had been resolved on, and that doubting, now in the danger, might look like dreading of it, the earl continued his purpose of landing; when Raleigh came aboard his ship, and, in the presence of all the colonels, protested against the resolution; giving him many reasons, and apparent demonstrations, that, to the utter overthrow of their armies, themselves, and her majesty's future safety, he was running the risk of a general ruin.

The earl excused himself, and laid it upon the lord-admiral, who would not consent, he said, to enter with the fleet till the town was first possessed. All the commanders and gentlemen present besought Raleigh to dissuade the attempt, for they all perceived the danger, and were convinced, that the greatest part must perish before they could set foot on ground; and, if any reached the shore, yet would they surely have their boats cast on their heads; and twenty men, in such a desperate descent, might defeat them all. The earl hereupon prayed Raleigh to go and persuade the lord-admiral, who being also made sensible by him, that certain destruction would be the consequence of pursuing the former resolution, consented to enter the port.

When Raleigh brought Essex the news of this agreement, and called out of his boat "Entra-

“mos, entramos,” as he returned towards him, the earl threw his hat into the sea for joy, and prepared to weigh anchor. The day was now far spent, and it required much time to return the boats of soldiers to their own ships.

So as that night they could not attempt the fleet, “Although many, seeming desperately valiant, thought it a fault of mine, says Raleigh, to delay it till morning, though we had neither agreed in what manner to fight, nor appointed who should lead, and who second; whether by boarding or otherwise; neither could our fleet possibly recover all their men in before sun-set. But both the generals being pleased to hear me, and many times to be advised by so mean an understanding, came again to anchor, and in the very mouth of the harbour. So that night, about ten o’clock, I wrote a letter to the lord-admiral, declaring therein my opinion, how the fight should be ordered; persuading him to appoint to each of the great galleons of Spain, two great fly-boats to board them, after the queen’s ships had battered them; for I knew that both St. Philip and the rest would burn, and not yield; and then to lose so many of the queen’s ships for company, I thought too dear a purchase, and what would be termed but a lamentable victory.”

This method being agreed on, and both the generals persuaded to lead the body of the fleet, the charge of the van, for putting it in execution, was, upon Raleigh’s request, granted and assigned to him. The ship he was in himself, called the Warspite, was one of the queen’s, and carried about 290 mariners. The rest, appointed out of her navy to second him were, the Mary Rose, commanded

manded by sir George Carew; the Lion, by sir Robert Southwell; the Rainbow, by sir Francis Vere; the Swiftsure, by captain Cross; the Dreadnought, by sir Coniers and Alexander Clifford; the Nonpareil, by Mr. Robert Dudley; besides twelve Londoners and certain fly-boats. Thus the lord Thomas Howard, because the Mer Honneur, which he commanded, was one of the greatest ships, was also left behind with the generals; but being impatient of this, he pressed them to have the service committed to him, and to that end exchanged his ship with Mr. Dudley.

Hereupon Raleigh observes: "For my own part, as I was willing to give honour to my lord Thomas, having both precedence in the army, and being a nobleman whom I much honoured; so I was yet resolved to give, and not to take example for this service, holding my own reputation dearest." Therefore, with the first peep of day, he weighed anchor, taking the start of all others a good distance, and bear with the enemy, who was in the following disposition to receive him.

Under the walls of Cadiz were ranged seventeen galleys, which lay with their prows to flank his entrance. There was also a fort called Philip, which beat into and commanded the harbour, besides the ordnance, which lay all along the curtain upon the wall towards the sea, and divers other pieces of culverin which scoured the channel. Notwithstanding, as soon as the enemy perceived an English admiral under sail approaching, several of their galleons, and other ships of war, with forty great vessels besides, bound for Mexico and other parts, also set sail. Of all which, the St. Philip, Matthew, Andrew, and Thomas, being four of the capital galleons of Spain, came

again to anchor under the fort of Puntal, in a strait of the harbour which leads over to Puerto Real. On the starboard side of them, they placed three frigates of war; at their back, two great galleons of Lisbon, besides two well furnished argosies; and the seventeen galleys by three and three, were to interlace them as occasion should be offered.

The admiral, vice-admiral, and rear-admiral of New-Spain, with the body of the fleet, were ranged behind them towards Puerto Real, hoping with this great strength to defend the entrance, the place being no broader from point to point, than that their line did, in effect, stretch over the strait as a bridge, and had besides the fort of Puntal for their guard.

Raleigh, as aforesaid, advancing in the van, was first saluted by fort Philip, next by the cannon on the curtain, and lastly in good order by the seventeen galleys which lay near the town with all their prows bent against him as he entered. Raleigh answered the firing of their ordnance with a flourish of his trumpets, and still kept driving forwards, that he might draw a sufficiency of the English fleet into play, and to engage those he passed by, while he was in action upon the body of the enemy. Accordingly, the ships that followed, beat upon the galleys so thick, that they soon betook them to their oars, and got up to join with the galleons in the strait, as aforesaid; then as they were driven to pass near him, he bestowed his benediction from several broadsides among them; but ply'd St. Philip, the great and famous admiral of Spain, most constantly, as being the most worthy of his fire; and being now resolved to repay the enemy's former treatment of
the

the *Revenge*, or to second her loss with his own life, he came to anchor by the great galleons, whereof the *Philip* and the *Andrew* were the two which boarded that brave English ship. Here he fell to battering of them very briskly, expecting after awhile the fly-boats to come up, that he might board and take them. And now began the engagement to be very desperate. The lord Thomas came to anchor on one side of him, tho' pretty much behind, with sir Robert Southwell; sir George Carew, and the Cliffords on the other, and sir Francis Vere was towards the side of *Puntal*.

At last the thunder of the ordnance grew so great about ten o'clock in the morning, that Essex, impatient to abide far off, thrust up through the fleet, heading all those on the left-hand, and on that side anchored next to Raleigh: afterwards came in captain Cross as near as he could; but Raleigh, to his great honour, held always single in the head of all. Now after they had beat, as at two butts, one upon another almost three hours; so that the volleys of cannon and culverin came as thick as if it had been a skirmish of musketeers, till Raleigh's ship was in danger of sinking in the place, he made away to Essex in his skiff, to desire that he would inforce the promised fly-boats to come up, that he might board; for as he rid, he could not long endure so great a battery.

Essex was then coming up himself; to whom Raleigh declared, "That if the fly-boats came not, he would board in the queen's ship; for it was the same loss to burn or sink, and one he must endure." Then the earl promised him, "That whatever he attempted, he would second him in person upon honour."

In

In the mean while, the lordr-admiral Howard, being also at first disposed to advance; but the river was so choaked, that he could not pass in the Ark, came with the lord Thomas in the Nonpareil; and, while Raleigh was speaking to Essex, “ the Marshal (Vere) who thought it some touch, “ says Raleigh, to his great esteemed valour, to “ ride behind me so many hours, got up a-head of “ my ship; which lord Thomas perceiving, head- “ ed him again, myself being but a quarter of an “ hour absent. At my return, finding myself from “ being the first to be but the third, I presently “ let slip anchor, and thrusting in between the “ lord Thomas and the marshal, went farther a- “ head than all of them before, and thrust my- “ self athwart the channel, so as I was sure none “ should outstart me again for that day.”

Essex thinking his ship stronger than the rest, thrust Clifford's aside, and still got next to Raleigh, on the left-hand, a-head of all that rank, but lord Thomas; while Vere secretly fastened a rope on Raleigh's ship side towards him, and drew himself up equal with him; but some of his company advertizing him thereof, he caused it to be cut asunder, so Vere fell back into his place, whom Raleigh guarded all but his prow from the sight of the enemy.

But now Raleigh, having no hopes of his fly-boats, and Essex, with the lord Thomas, having promised to second him, he laid out a warp by the side of the Philip to close, the wind hindering him otherwise to board her; and, when the admiral thereof, with the commanders of the other three wooden apostles, found that Essex and the lord Thomas began to do the like, they all slipped anchor, and ran a-ground; heaps of soldiers and
mariners .



mariners tumbling into the sea like coals out of a sack, says Raleigh, into many ports at once; some drowning, some sticking in the mud.

He also tells us, the Philip thereupon burnt herself; and another author, more particularly in these words: "As Raleigh thought to have boarded the great galleon St. Philip, a negro gave fire to the powder, and escaped by swimming; it gave so great a crack, that the mast was blown into the air, as if it had been an arrow. A pinnace that lay near it was burnt, but the men escaped in boats. The other galleon, called St. Thomas, was likewise blown up, but did no harm to the English."

2
He also mentions two easterlings which ran ashore, and were burnt; but, says he, the St. Matthew and St. Andrew, of ten or twelve thousand ton a-piece, were saved from running a-ground, and carried away." However, he does not inform us particularly by whom; and others seem to have done Raleigh more injustice, in nominating other persons, and omitting him in the performance; since it appears under his own hand-writing, that he took them both himself. And this agrees with the manner his letter of this action in print has expressed it, where he says, "Those galleons were recovered with our boats ere they could get out to fire them."

Here he observes, upon the enemies running to the shores, and thus firing their ships, that the spectacle was very lamentable on their side; for many drowned themselves; many half burnt, leaped into the water; very many, hanging at the rope's-ends by the ship's side under the water, even to the lips; many swimming with grievous wounds, till struck under water, and put out of their pain; and withal, such huge fires, and such tearing of the

the ordnance, in the Great Philip and the rest, when the flames came to them, that Raleigh thought there was here to be seen the most lively figure of hell itself.

Thus the victory was obtained by sea, and the Bay resigned by two, some say, by four o'clock in the afternoon; though no more of the English were constantly and closely engaged, than the ships and commanders before-mentioned, against the six great galleons, seventeen galleys, with the fleet of New-Spain, argosies, and frigates, to the number of fifty-five, or fifty-seven, as Raleigh himself reckons them, besides the fort of Puntal playing upon them all the while. After the victory, "ourselves spared the lives of all, says Raleigh; but the Flemings, who did little or nothing in the fight, used merciless slaughter; till they were by myself, and afterwards by my lord admiral, beaten off."

Then they hastened to land the army, and attempt the town; in which there were, of all sorts, above five thousand one hundred and fifty soldiers in pay, and about eight hundred horse of the gentry and cavaliers of Xeres gathered together upon the discovery of the English fleet two days before, as they lay becalmed off Cape St. Mary. The horsemen sallied out to resist their landing; but were so vigorously assailed and overpowered by the English, that the greatest part made away to the bridge which leads to the main, called Puente de Suaço; the rest retreated to the town, and were so eagerly pursued, that they were driven to forsake their horses at the gate, which the inhabitants durst not open to admit them; so that they were forced to leap down an old wall into the suburbs, which the English vanguard, close at their heels, perceiving, with Essex at their head, followed them;



them; and so the town was carried with sudden fury, in a short space of time, and with very little loss.

Raleigh, though he had received a grievous wound in his leg, being much torn and deformed with a splinter-shot in the fight; yet, willing to encourage the army with his presence, and desirous of seeing the actions and dispositions of the enemy, he was carried ashore on the shoulders of his men, where the lord-admiral, out of his care and regard, sent him one of his horses; but his own being recovered in due time, was made ready for him.

The pain he endured, and the fear he was continually in of being shouldered by the tumultuous soldiers, abandoned to spoil and rapine, without any respect of persons, made him unable to abide above an hour in the town. The same night therefore he returned, chiefly because there was no admiral on board to take care of the fleet, or indeed few mariners left in the navy; "all, to use his own words, running headlong to the sack;" and also, because he was fit for nothing but rest and retirement at that time: otherwise, he might, like the rest of the commanders, have rewarded himself for his services. But leaving them in safe possession at his departure, they promised to preserve for him his share of the booty, and to give him a good quarter of the town; of which, as we have it under his own hand, they defrauded him.

He had desired the consent of the generals, that he might go and secure or destroy the Indian fleet, which was said to be worth twelve millions, and lay in Puerto-Real road; but they desired to consider on it till next morning.

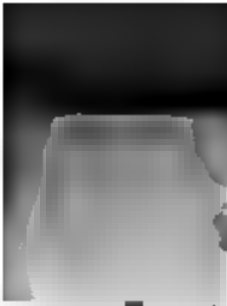
At break of day Raleigh sent his brother, sir John Gilbert, and sir Arthur Throgmorton, as also

also ~~fin~~ Henry Leonard, to know their resolution; but the generals sent back to desire he would come ashore into the town. Raleigh very favourably imputes these evasions to the great confusion, in which it was almost impossible for them to order many things at once.

In the afternoon of the same day, the merchants of Cadiz and Seville offered the generals, by the committee of the Contractation-house, with the purveyor, corrigidor, and other officers, two millions of ducats to spare that fleet; neither could this bring them to any resolution, so that advantage was lost. Raleigh might possibly insist upon a larger composition, by saying, “ They ought first to be masters of the fleet, and ransom it afterwards; for, if they were offered two millions already, they would give four when it was taken.”

But, it appears plain enough, that Essex was not for having the fleet seized upon, unless by sir Christopher Blunt, sir Edward Conway, sir Thomas Gerrard, and other land officers, which Raleigh would not consent to for the honour of the sailors; as it appears from Camden, that the lord-admiral would not consent to any accommodation: “ For we came,” said he, “ to consume them, and not compound with them.”

But they saved him the trouble; for the next morning, being the twenty-third of June, the duke of Medina caused all that fleet of merchantmen to be set on fire; because he was convinced, from their being beset so vigilantly by Raleigh, who had the charge of them, that they must needs fall into his hands. Thus, both galleons, frigates, argosies, with the fleet of Nueva Espana, and all except the galleys, which it seems escaped, were consumed to ashes. Good store of the enemy’s ordnance



ultimate was removed out of their ships, and great quantities of merchandise, plate, jewels, and money out of the town: their whole loss being computed at twenty millions of ducats.

It was long disputed, whether the town should be held or no, says sir Francis Vere; who adds, that my lord Essex seemed to desire to remain there in person; as, we may add, Vere did too; because he, says he, offered to defend it with four thousand men, till her majesty's pleasure should be known; when, in truth, the queen's pleasure, in this particular, was known before they left England: for Essex himself informs us, he sent letters from Plymouth, before they set sail, by his secretary Edward Reignold, to the council at Greenwich; wherein he purposed, "to dwell in a port of the enemy's, and to make a continual diversion of the wars; but, says he, my letters were neither answered, nor approved of."

And much less was the same proposal now relished in Cadiz, when so many wanted to guard and secure the treasures they had got; and, it was computed, they would all soon grow in want of provisions; nay, one of his own knights advised him to master and destroy ships rather than towns, as what would make the enemy more unable to molest them, and to procure him wealth and solid honour, without riot and ruin of the innocent; besides, the riches in ships could not be so easily concealed and conveyed away, as in towns; they might, moreover, be brought into England, and would be visible monuments to his glory; but towns, though soon won, could not be long enjoyed.

For these and other reasons, Essex was prevailed upon to leave Cadiz; but they first of all caused the city to be razed, and, with the castles and

and fortifications, fired all but the churches and religious houses; together with all the naval tackle and provision they could meet with, which they either did not want, or could not conveniently carry away.

Their courtesy however to the people, especially of distinction, and all who had made no opposition, was such, that at their departure, the Spaniards did the English the justice to say, "Though they were heretics as to religion, yet, "as to the rest, they had behaved themselves with "a generous bravery."

On the fifth of July, the army embarked; and, in council, it was insisted on to lie out at sea for intercepting the West-Indian fleet; "but the "scarceness of our victuals, says Vere, overthrew "that purpose." So a resolution was taken to make for England, and visit the Spanish coasts in the way, to destroy their shipping.

The first place they made to was Faro, a good large populous town, but unfenced, and a bishop's see of Portugal. Here the English landing, and marching up to the town, the inhabitants deserted it, and left them in full possession; who, after having refreshed themselves five or six days, brought good store of provisions to the ships; also some pieces of artillery, and the valuable library of the late famous bishop Osorius.

There is another author who mentions the taking of this town, and consequently that library, among Raleigh's victories; describing the buildings to have been left so demolished, as to afford no covering for their idols.

When the forces were got again on board, they sailed to the Groyne, and looked into the bay; but the wind being unfavourable, they thought it dangerous to enter; upon which account, and be-
because

because the victuals daily grew more scarce, so that, in some ships, there was already extreme want, says sir Francis Vere, it was resolved to ~~make~~ **return** homewards: however, sir William Monson, in favour of Essex's impatience to go upon fresh exploits, computes they had sufficient provision to supply them seven weeks. Monson also imputes the general opposition of the officers to any further invasion of the Spaniards at this time, to the covetousness of those who wanted to secure the treasures they had amassed.

About two months after Raleigh's return from the conquest of Cadiz, we find him making a new attempt to continue the interest and correspondence he had so hopefully begun in Guiana. To this end, he manned out, and stored with all proper conveniences and merchandize for trade and discovery in those parts, a handsome pinnace, which had been with him in the late engagement, called after his own name the Watt, therefore probably one of his own ships.

The command of her he committed to captain Leonard Berry; but, through contrariety of winds, and other accidents, they made it the latter end of December following, before they got to Weymouth.

In the beginning of March they discovered the coast, and fell into the river Wiapouco, a river almost in four degrees north of the line, and about sixteen leagues in length; but not being able to find the head of its falls, nor meeting with any of the inhabitants to supply them with provisions, they returned, and made towards the great town called Aramatto, where they stored themselves to their desire.

After this, several of those natives came in canoes, and traded with the English in their ships. Then captain Berry hired some of them with a present of knives, to go back unto the river Cawo, and invite the ruler of that place, named Ritimo, on board, who accordingly came to them in the river Chiana, where he and his train were feasted, and trafficked with the English much to their satisfaction: and thither also flocked, from their several towns, great numbers of a civilized race of Carribes, who brought great plenty of victuals and tobacco, which they exchanged for such commodities as the English were well instructed to carry thither.

After they had declared their unanimous desire to have the English come and rout the Spaniards, take command of Orenoque, and dwell in the bordering nations, they departed; and the English made away to the Careres, or triangular islands, and kept trading on with the people of the neighbouring towns, who familiarly resorted to them.

Then they passed along through the river Marawin, to Quiparia and Macirra, for about forty or fifty leagues upwards to the falls of that river, and to the sight of a rich country above, where the people were of an extraordinary stature, and carried bows lashed with gold; but were forced to return without completing that discovery for want of provision.

On the fifteenth of April, 1597, they returned from that river, and wandered through several others; till, about four days after, they fell into the Coritine. In this river they met a bark, called The John, of London, commanded by captain Leith (the same, I suppose, who afterwards made other voyages to Guiana; and took further possession

cession of the country, not by force, the Spaniard's title, but consent of the people; though for a prince, indeed, who deserved no right there which he had not the spirit to maintain) and falling down some five leagues from its mouth, upon intelligence that the Dessekebe, with which that river meets, would lead them within a day's journey of the lake Perima, wheron Manoa was supposed to stand, they meant to discover a passage to this rich city: but, having rowed in their boats about fifty leagues from the mouth of the Coritine to the falls of the said river, where, having been credibly informed that five days journey further there was a fall impassable; and finding withal some of the towns bordering thereon so importunate to engage them in wars against their enemies the Waccawacs, which would turn greatly to the disadvantage of the English, when sir Walter Raleigh should again return thither, because he would have occasion to pass that river, which was reported to have gold in it; they therefore were constrained to return: so, clearing themselves of this coast, they bent their course to the islands of the West-Indies.

Thus have we abstracted all the voyages sir Walter Raleigh set forth for discoveries, as well as the warlike expeditions in which he was engaged, as far as they have been preserved in Hakluyt's collections. Nor was it without just reason, that his naval enterprizes were thus carefully gathered therein; since Raleigh's encouragement was such, of this extraordinary undertaking, to raise a grove of laurels, in a manner out of the sea, that should overspread the island with glory, and might be still made to shoot more spaciouly afresh, were the author and his work revived in a manner suitable to their deserts, that, when even the first edition of these English voyages was published, and be-
 M 2 157

they could receive any lustre from the Guianian discoveries, the said author, in his preface, acknowledges sir Walter Raleigh to have been one of those benefactors, “from whom he had received his “ chief light into the western navigations.”

Nor did he only oblige Hakluyt with communicating divers maritime adventures, in which he himself and countrymen were concerned ; but procured for him, at no small expence, some very scarce voyages and discoveries of foreigners which were unprinted ; and was moreover at the charge of rewarding some persons of learning and leisure to translate them into English, for the further enrichment of the said collections. One instance of this kind he slightly mentions himself : for, in his learned enquiries into the name of the Red Sea, he speaks of a voyage made thither by the Portugal viceroy of the East-Indies, named Stephen Gama ; the narrative whereof was written by Castro, one of his principal commanders ; “ which discourse,” says he, “ I gave Mr. Richard Hakluyt to publish.” Further we might expatiate upon this care he had for the preservation of other mens fame ; but here a gallant exploit solicits our regard, by which he much encreased his own.

The earl of Essex, grown discontented to see his party of such little power at court, and the Cecilians carry all before them ; that he could not advance several of his friends and followers to certain posts in the army, not even sir Thomas Bodley to the office of secretary, whom he had perhaps flattered with his prodigal praises to the queen, she having preferred sir Robert Cecyl to that place in his absence at Cadiz, whom he had as intemperately traduced, resolved to seek, by further services abroad, to strengthen that interest at home, which he now found so weak and unserviceable ; for the
king

king of Spain, enraged at the late overthrow and destruction of Cadiz, had immediately thereupon mustered up the naval powers from all his ports at Lisbon, for a new expedition upon England and Ireland; but his old enemies the winds and the waves so speedily disabled and dispersed them, that the queen heard of their fate before she had any notice of their design; and, as she then took care to fortify such castles as lay most obvious to any such invasion; so now, that she heard the storm was gathering again, by the repair of the said shattered fleet, and recruits added to it, threatening a new descent upon Ireland, she resolved also to gather together her forces by sea.

At first, indeed, before she was well informed of the enemy's strength, she had only armed and victualled ten of her best ships, and caused the Low-Countries to provide the like number under admiral Duvenard: but when the lord Thomas Howard and sir Walter Raleigh, who were chosen for the command of this fleet, declared their hopes of doing any great service with it to be weak and uncertain, and the news of the Adelantado's stronger preparations at Ferroll and the Groyne were daily confirmed, a new council was called; in which it was resolved, that this naval force which the queen had appointed, was too great for a discovery, and too little for an attempt.

There was added to the first prepared fleet about ten ships more of the royal navy; which, with the other men of war, victuallers, transports, and many stout vessels belonging to the nobles, knights and gentlemen, who were adventurers in this voyage, amounted to about one hundred and twenty sail, as we are informed by sir Arthur Gorges, an officer in this enterprize. These ships then being all suffi-

ciently manned with sailors, received an army of five thousand soldiers, with ten pieces of artillery for the field, and five hundred volunteers most gorgeously equipped. The proportion of victuals was for four months at large allowance, and double apparel both for soldiers and mariners.

The lord-admiral Howard being indisposed, declined the command, which therefore was granted in chief to the earl of Essex; but the lord Thomas Howard was made vice-admiral, and sir Walter Raleigh rear-admiral in the expedition; and these three, with four others, composed the council of war.

The purpose of this grand preparation was to defeat and destroy the Spanish fleet above-mentioned at Ferrol, as well as in other ports of the enemy; also to seize upon such Indian fleets of treasure as they should meet with belonging to the king of Spain; but especially to conquer, retain, and garrison most of the isles of the Azores; and above all the Tercera: wherefore this enterprize was called the Island Voyage.

About the ninth of July following, the whole fleet set sail from Plymouth, and for two days had a fair wind; in which time all the ships received their directions from the council of war, with the meeting-places from time to time, in case of separation by tempest, fight, chase, or any other accident: but being now advanced about sixty leagues, there arose such an exceeding high storm full in their teeth, and continued for four days together, that all the ships were driven, with great damage to several, back into Plymouth; and many died of the sickness it had brought upon them.

While they lay here wind-bound for a month, and their provisions were consumed, Essex, in company

company with sir Walter Raleigh, rode post to court. The earl was very forward in his proposals to set out again with the fleet as soon as it should be repaired, or at least one half of it, being sure the enemy should have felt the weight and charge of the journey: but her majesty not accepting his offer, it was more prudently resolved, to proportion their expedition to the opportunities which remained; the season being so far elapsed, and their provisions so much exhausted: therefore Essex had orders from her majesty to discharge the land forces, all but the thousand Low-Country soldiers, then thought the best and most experienced of this army; whereby, though they were disabled of disembarking at Ferrol, and attacking the enemy there by land; yet Essex offered to send certain fire-ships into the bay, and second them with the two Spanish galleons taken last year with some great flyboats and merchantmen, to destroy their shipping; and leave the queen's own English built ships at the mouth of the harbour, with a principal commander, to secure their retreat: and this was allowed of, but with some limitations, as Essex confesses in one place, which in another, we find to be an absolute bar to hazard any other of the ships, and as absolute a restraint of the earl himself from going into the harbour to put this project in practice; but that it should be done by that principal commander he would have left behind; whether through care of his person as a nobleman, or to have it attempted by one of the greatest abilities and experience for such a naval exploit, is not easy to determine; but sir Walter Raleigh was preferred to the execution of this service, and, as sir Francis Vere observes, the charge of firing the fleet was undertaken by him.

During this absence of Raleigh and Essex at court, which was not above seven days, there fell out such exceeding tempestuous weather as very much distressed the fleet, both at Plymouth-Road and Catwater; insomuch that one of Raleigh's own ships, the Roebuck of three hundred tons burthen, ran a-ground and bulged herself, so became unserviceable for that voyage; though much pains and care were taken by all hands, and especially the lord Thomas Howard himself in person, to have preserved her.

On the seventeenth of August following, they weighed anchor, and, with much labour, set sail again, being becalmed; but the weather growing afterwards somewhat favourable, they held their course for the North-Cape. Six days afterwards they fell across the bay of Alchafer, or Biscay, and at last bore full into it, much to the dislike of Raleigh's pilot, a skilful mariner, named Broadbent, who thought it very dangerous for so great a fleet so wilfully to imbay there, and upon an enemy's coasts; yet, as it was the general's course, they complied.

The next day they were here, for several hours, beaten and scattered about by a prodigious storm, wherein one of the late taken prizes, named St. Matthew, falling into a head-sea, and having her sprit-sail out, broke her bolt-sprit and fore-mast overboard, close to the partners. The fall of the masts also broke two anchors, and carried the third away; and her main-mast, with her rolling and tumbling, had so loosened itself, that it was in danger of breaking in the step, whereby she would soon have been sunk, had not her captain, sir George Carew, with great resolution and hazard, carried her into England, and exchanged her for another.

In

In the same storm, the other Spanish prize, the *St. Andrew*, spent her main-top mast, and lost company for some days; but all the rest of the fleet kept labouring in the Bay, till first Raleigh, and some ships of his squadron which happened to carry the Low-Country soldiers, cleared out, and made the best of their way to the next rendezvous; and afterwards several of the earl's losing him, sailed thither also in search of him.

This gave rise to a misrepresentation by Raleigh's adversaries, that he had designedly withdrawn himself and that part of the fleet; while Essex himself incurred a most just censure throughout the whole fleet, by making the high land of Portugal, and bearing in so close to the shore, that he alarmed all the country to rise against him.

Afterwards, as the fleet, being joined again, was passing towards the south, almost as far as the isles of Bayon, Raleigh's ship, the *Warspite*, being then in the center of them, on the twenty-seventh of August, broke her main-yard asunder in the very midst by the parrel. Essex discovered in his ship a desperate leak, by which he had much ado to escape drowning.

Here it was agreed that, till Raleigh's ship should be repaired, he might keep cruising about the height of the Rock, where they were to unite and pass the South Cape; yet the next morning, before that reparation could be made, Raleigh had a message to attend Essex with all speed, that they might put in with the land; which was impossible for Raleigh to do, being unable to work upon a wind, as having but a fore-sail and mizen, and the wind almost off the land; besides, if he could have made the land with that sail, it was thought madness to put upon the enemies coast in that condition; when, if the wind should change to the west,

west, he must, in want of his main-sail, have yielded or perished; so found himself under a necessity to ply up and down for two days, till the said fraction was mended. In this distress, there was no direction given for any other of the fleet to attend upon Raleigh; yet sir William Brook, in the Dreadnought, staid with him; also lord Thomas Howard very affectionately offered all the assistance he could give; and several other of the sea captains voluntarily did the like: but Raleigh would admit of no more than three or four small men of war to accompany him, and ordered the rest, even of his own squadron, to repair to the admiral: so far was he from projecting a division of the fleet, by entreating any to forsake Essex and abide with him, as it was afterwards very falsely represented to him, to incense Essex against Raleigh, for contriving the frustration of their first resolved attempt; and, as Raleigh himself, when they met at the Azores, so satisfactorily made evident, that the said imputation turned only to the shame of its contrivers.

When Raleigh had repaired the damages of the storm, he bore in with the coast, making all the enquiry he could after Essex and the fleet, but could hear no tidings of them: he sent into the Bay of Bayon, and towards the South-Cape, well knowing the earl could not then put into Ferrol or the Groyne, as was afterwards colourably pretended he would have done had they united, the wind being flat against him; and the whole fleet having overshot that coast near twenty leagues before the main-yard of Raleigh's ship was broken; and besides, that they could not recover it again, both those Spanish prizes were wanting, which only were to have been ventured in the service.

Here-

Hereupon Raleigh shaped his course to the Rock, which was appointed for the general rendezvous; expecting, not only with good reason, to meet Essex there, but with great desire; his own force being so small, and the enemy, as he heard, out at sea with a powerful fleet. Yet those who could suspect Raleigh would prefer a separation, dangerous and disadvantageous as it was now, would needs have had it thought there was much more reason for that suspicion, when there came to Raleigh at the Rock near thirty sail more, most of them his own victuallers and transports; but the truth is, that having lost Essex during the storm in the bay, and missed him also at the North-Cape, they came hither according to their instructions; where, casually meeting with Raleigh, he held them together, and conducted them to Essex at the islands: otherwise they had all returned home, after they had failed at the South-Cape, which was the third and last meeting-place, of some admiral to command them, and of whom they would have failed, since none of the fleet went so far southward.

Soon after he had determined, in search of the fleet, to pass on towards the South-Cape, he was traversed by an English bark, which assured him they had learned from an English man of war which had lately taken an India-man, that the Adelantado was gone for the islands to convoy the Indian fleet safe home. This seeming very probable, and no one suspecting that any of their countrymen would traiterously delude her majesty's fleet with any false informations in a pursuit of this consequence, Raleigh earnestly besought the captain of the said bark to hunt after Essex, and apprise him of this intelligence: but he answered, in the hearing of the whole company, that
the

the captain, who had taken that India-man, had already sent a letter to Essex thereof. Raleigh, doubting it might have miscarried, or that none was sent, commanded one of the small men of war attending upon himself with all diligence, to seek out the fleet, and make report of what they had heard. This ship, by good fortune, met with the fleet the next day, and delivered the news. Two days after, Raleigh received two letters from Essex, which somewhat taxing his absence, and not writing, required that he would presently follow him to the islands: To which the earl said, “He
 “was hastening to find the Adelantado; not
 “doubting but to give his mistress a better ac-
 “count of that service, than he should yield his
 “master.”

In passing to the islands, Raleigh was so much in danger of losing his main-mast, that he was forced to send the ships in his company before, because he thought Essex might be in want of them, if he should meet the enemy; and, if they had joined the fleet without Raleigh, who was principally depended on, in case of any engagement, it would have strengthened the misconstructions that had been nourished against him; but Raleigh so speedily and effectually repaired his crazy mast, and so briskly plied his sails, that he overtook his associates next day, and, on the eighth day of September, they all made the island of Tercera; yet here could they meet with no news of the fleet, though they enquired of an English merchant who had traded about these islands above six weeks; and, though it had passed that way but two days before. By this merchant Raleigh wrote into England, to acquaint the state in what situation they were; then passed on to St. George's island, where they found the weather exceed-

exceedingly hot, and were vexatiously becalmed for a day or two, before they could get forward to Gratiofa.

Here, as they coasted along, on the tenth of September about midnight, they saw a large and perfect rainbow by moon-light, in the shape and bigness of those formed more commonly by the sun, though in colours not so various, but chiefly inclining to a pale or whitish flame: this made the generality of the seamen expect some extraordinary tempestuous weather, but it fell out, on the contrary, to be very calm and hot. The same night they also espied, by the light of the moon, then upon the border of the horizon, some sail of ships gliding towards the east of Gratiofa; at which Raleigh hung out two lights for his company to follow him in chase of them; but they not taking his course, and the moon being soon after quite shadowed and intercepted by the earth, he was left in darkness and solitude, having lost all sight both of the new-discovered ships, and those of his own company, till, in the space of four days more, a leisurely breeze of wind brought him, after all these impediments, to the rest of the fleet, then gathered at the isle of Flores.

As soon as Raleigh had descried the fleet, he took his barge; and, with sir Arthur Gorges, as also some other of the officers and gentlemen in his company, went aboard the earl of Essex's ship, with whom they all dined; and "who seemed, says Gorges, "to be the joyfulest man living for
"our arrival; protesting, that "he never be-
"lieved we would leave him, although divers
"persuaded him to the contrary; and acknow-
"ledged, that he was sorry for a letter which he
"had written, by Mr. Robert Knolles, into Eng-
"land

“ land against us ; promising presently to make a
 “ dispatch on purpose, contrary to the former.”

Further, when Essex had fully satisfied himself, that all the transports and victuallers which returned with Raleigh, had not been inveigled away by him ; and how commendably he had thus drawn them to the islands, against their inclinations, being, most of them, in great distress ; he opened himself to him in a very amicable and communicative manner. He told him, “ How he had
 “ spent the time of their separation wholly in
 “ ranging the seas to meet with the Adelantado ;
 “ he acquainted him with the many conjectures
 “ and surmises that had been vented of his absence ; and withall, named to him some of those
 “ men who had taxed him secretly with strange reports, yet pretended to love him ; which he
 “ protested he never believed, but thereby the
 “ better observed their scandalous and cankered
 “ dispositions.” In this manner did the earl of Essex receive and welcome sir Walter Raleigh, with the greatest kindness and familiarity, as well as all the gentlemen of his company ; to the great dislike and heart-burning of some, who much envied that liking which Essex naturally bore to Raleigh.

Here, as they lay before the isle of Flores, they held a council of war, to conquer and possess, or lay waste some of these islands ; they being the chief place, of retreat and refreshment for the king of Spain’s Indian fleets, by the treasures of which his boundless ambition so much disturbed and so tyrannized over Europe. In this council, the admirals and commanders had their charge allotted after the following manner: Essex and Raleigh were to undertake the island of Fayall ; the lord Thomas Howard and sir Francis Vere were
 to

to secure Gratiola; the lord Mountjoy and sir Christopher Blunt were to attempt St. Michael's; and the Netherland Squadron was quartered to Pike, where grew the greatest store of wines, therefore presumed no unwelcome portion to them. And these places were the first resolved upon, that they might afterwards attack the Terra itself; for Raleigh's arrival gave their resolution upon this stronger island a second life; but it was first thought expedient to strengthen and supply themselves with whatsoever those weaker ones would afford: and to this end the fleet was divided into four squadrons.

But Raleigh's mariners having obtained leave to go ashore at Flores, to water and furnish themselves with such other necessaries as they wanted; while he himself, attended by several other of the commanders and gentlemen, walked a mile or two into the island to stretch their legs and refresh themselves, where they all dined in a little village, the bare-legged governor having caused such fare to be brought them as the country afforded, which they honourably paid for, without offering them the least injury; because the earl had before given them an indemnity, under his own hand, from all manner of violence: when Essex, impatient to be in action, all of a sudden, and before the sailors could get their casks of fresh water aboard, sent, on the sixteenth of September, captain Arthur Champernon to tell them, " That the general
" was borne up for Fayall, meaning presently to
" take it in; therefore required them to follow
" him instantly; and, though they should not
" overtake him, yet to find him there as soon as
" they could, and there they might supply their wants.

Here-

Hereupon they hastened away, with all the sail they could make, after him; but no general could they overtake. They next morning got sight of Fayall, and missed of Essex also there, to their great dissatisfaction, he being six leagues nearer that island when he sent for them, and set sail thither six or eight hours before them.

Being entered the road, they beheld before them a very fine town, pleasantly seated along the shore; from whence the people, upon sight of their ships, began to pack away both bag and baggage: their friars, nuns, other women and children, they also sent away in carts and carriages: so continued transporting all up into the country for two days together. There was besides a strong fort at one end of the town, and another at the top of a very high mountain near adjoining, by nature almost inaccessible, and artificially fenced with flankers, rampier, and a ditch; also six pieces of artillery, and two hundred Spaniards in garrison, not reckoning others quartered about the island. They fired upon Raleigh's ships as he anchored in the road, tho' without much damage, and set a great red standard up in defiance before his eyes. They sent moreover six companies, with their colours, to entrench upon the shore, in order to oppose his landing. However, Raleigh, in his barge, accompanied with sir Arthur Gorges and captain William Morgan, rowed close along the the shore side, and by the high fort towards the town, to acquaint himself with the most proper place for making a descent when Essex should arrive; from whence they were saluted with divers musket-shot, which they very fortunately escaped, having with them neither targets nor armour for their safeguard.

Upon these provocations, and the want they grew in for those necessaries, wherewith they were
both

both lately prevented from accommodating themselves, and promised they should be supplied here; Raleigh called a council of the captains and officers to consult about taking the town, if Essex arrived not; thinking it a shame to forbear so fair a prize, so near at hand, till they had carried all off; especially since the enemy had begun the war upon them, and so proudly dared them to their own defence. Further, these bravadoes, with the hopes of wealth in this goodly town, and the ransom of houses and prisoners, made all the mariners and soldiers, not only ready to mutiny that they were so long restrained; but reflect on their commanders, as if this forbearance was the effect only of their fear. And, what made them the more eager was, that they saw no likelihood of any other advantage by this voyage, than what was thus to be gotten ashore.

Notwithstanding these murmurs, and that they heard no news of Essex in two days, the council was divided; and some of the captains, who were his most servile dependants, as sir Guilly Merrick, sir Nicholas Parker, and others, were by no means for landing without his knowledge; but Raleigh, with sir W. Brook, sir A. Gorges, sir W. Harvey, and many other commanders and gentlemen of his own squadron, were of a contrary opinion; judging the general would repute them idlers and cowards to lie so long before so good a town with so many ships and men, and do nothing, but let them convey away their effects. This was the general voice, both of the land and sea forces; yet the violent persuasions of Merrick so prevailed, that they agreed to delay the enterprize one day longer: when, if the earl did not come, they all agreed to land together.

Now, the wind tacking about, somewhat unfit for the road they lay in, Raleigh, and several of his squadron, with many other of the ships after him, weighed, and coasted about the point to the north-west side of the island, some four miles further from the town than they were before, and there let fall their anchors, being a better road than the first, as the wind sat. But Merrick, with some five or six ships of his comforts, would not advance with them.

They were now in the fourth day of their arrival before Fayall, and no general appeared; but the prospect of a most inviting country, full of little villages and fruitful fields, sharpened the general desire of landing, to supply their want of victuals, and especially of water, wherewith they had not been recruited since their first setting out from Plymouth; therefore, by agreement, they manned out a barge, a long boat and pinnace, with sixty muskets and forty pikes, rather to guard themselves in watering, than in expectation of any encounter from the town or forts on the other side of the island. But they were no sooner ready to put off from the ships, than they discovered six ensigns of foot, and some dozen horsemen, marching down speedily from the town and forts to meet them; and made such haste, that they soon possessed the trenches towards the shore where the English lay, and where, with brandishing sword, and waving colours, they stood daring them to a rencounter. Hereupon Raleigh found it necessary to augment his force, which Brook, Harvey, and other sea officers, readily supplied, to the number of one hundred and sixty men more. Then said Raleigh to them, “ Seeing these Spaniards and
 “ Portuguese are so gallant to seek or follow, and
 “ keep us from watering, we will try our fortunes
 “ with

“ with them, and either win our landing, or gain
 “ a beating.”

As Raleigh then rowed along by his ships, he was greeted by Bret, Sidney, White, Berry, and other captains of the Low-Country foldiers, who called out and advised him, “ to take them and
 “ some of their companies with him ; for, if he
 “ ventured to make the shore only with mariners
 “ and his own attendants, without their land sol-
 “ diers, he might receive a repulse.” But Raleigh excused himself, saying “ He was resolved, with
 “ his own company, to make the descent, and
 “ then should send for their recruits.”

Then Raleigh, having thus a party of two hundred and sixty men, not half the number of the enemy, made forward ; and, while some ordnance, he had judiciously placed before him in pinnaces, as close along the shore as they could lie, were beating upon their trenches, he rushed through or under them as fast as his oars could ply to the landing-place ; which was guarded first with a mighty ledge of rocks, forty paces long into the sea, and afterwards trenched and flanked with earth and stone, having only a narrow lane between two walls for their entrance. But now, as they approached still nearer to the shore, the enemies shot flew down so thick upon them, that not only several of the common men, but of those who would before have passed for very forward and valiant leaders, were much dismayed ; insomuch, that Raleigh, who most gloriously approved himself no less their chief in courage, than he was in command, did not spare openly to rebuke them aloud with many reproachful words.

At last, when he saw them still linger, through consternation, as much to their danger as their disgrace, he commanded, with a loud voice, his

watermen to row his own barge full upon the rocks, and bade as many as were not afraid, to follow him. Hereat some boats ran in with them, and out of them were landed Mr. Garrett, then a pensioner, afterwards earl of Kildare, sir W. Brook, sir W. Harvey, sir John Scott, captain Henry Thynne, captain White, captain Arthur Radford, Captain W. Morgan, Mr. Duke Brook, Mr. Thomas Rudgeway, Mr. Walter Chute, Mr. Henry Allen, Mr. Charles Mackart, and several other gentlemen. So, clambering over the rocks, and wading through the water, he made his way pell-mell, through all their fire, with shot, pike, and sword, up to the narrow entrance; where he so resolutely pursued his assault, that the enemy, after a short resistance, gave ground; and, when they saw his forces press faster and thicker upon them, suddenly retiring, they cast away their weapons, and betook themselves to the hills and woods. The like was done by those who were intrenched higher: and thus he won this difficult and dangerous landing, together with the trenches of the enemy. A few of his men indeed were drowned and slain, more hurt, and a couple of long-boats sunk; yet was not his loss so considerable as to detract from the justice of those congratulations which were paid him by the officers of the Low-Country forces, when, with some of their companies, they arrived upon the island, and found the footing he had won so strongly fortified and guarded.

Raleigh, thus recruited, being now near five hundred strong, thought best to go through with the matter, and prepare the town in readiness for Essex: therefore he appointed Bret to the office of serjeant-major, directed the other captains to advance their colours, marshal the companies, and so, in order, marched to the town, about four miles

miles distant from the landing-place. In their passage, several of the enemy, who had before braved them with the greatest insolence, came with white napkins at the end of staves, and voluntarily subjected themselves to offices of the greatest servility. There was indeed a way, two miles about, by which they might have passed to the town, and avoided the high fort where the Spaniards lay in garrison. But Raleigh, considering the trouble of their march, the sultry heat of the weather, the hazards of delay, and, above all, the necessity they were under of immediate supplies, took the shortest course; resolving to bring fort and town all into one day's work.

Thus, at the head of about forty gentlemen of the first rank, Raleigh led on the companies in a gentle regular manner, full in the face of the fort, having only his leading-staff in his hand, and no other armour on but his collar; for which he was somewhat censured by his friends; for, when they came within reach of the fort, they were shrewdly encountered, with several fierce storms of great and small shot, which came thundering down upon them from all parts of it, wounding several, killing some, and putting most of his men into disorder; insomuch, that Raleigh himself, with his little vanguard, was no sooner passed, and entered under the covert of their trenches and barricadoes at the declivity of a little hill, but the rest, composing the main body of his forces, which, till now that they found themselves under the mercy of the enemy's fire, advanced in good order, begun to break their ranks, and, from marching, fell to running on in a straggling and confused manner, till they were under the walls and trenches almost as soon as their leader, who

came some twelve score yards before them in a steady and deliberate march.

Raleigh was somewhat moved to see this tumultuous and timorous course; and more, to think that the enemy saw themselves were the occasion of it; therefore he cried out to Bret, Berry, and other captains, demanding, “If these were the
“men that should have done him such service in
“landing, and saved him from dishonour? Or
“this the manner of their Low-Country troops,
“to shew such base cowardice at the first sight of
“an enemy, and at the musket-shot so far off from
“a fort?” The captains, who were themselves brave enough, knowing the truth would be the best apology, answered, “That these companies,
“who had behaved themselves with such irresolu-
“tion, were men taken out of Flushing and Brill,
“the cautionary towns; so were raw soldiers, who
“had ever lived in a safe garrison, and seldom or
“never had faced an enemy, in the field.”

Being thus got under covert of the trenches and walls which the Spaniards had abandoned, and retired to their fortifications on the top of the hill, Raleigh commanded captain Bret to appoint a sergeant or two, with a few shot, to go and reconnoitre the way to the tower, which, in many places, lay open, as well to the high fort here in the way towards it, as to the other fort at the end of it; and, where the ways were fenced, they were still more dangerous; it being with low-piled walls of loose ragged stones, which Raleigh justly suspected would encrease, rather than obstruct the mischiefs of their enemies artillery.

Bret brought word of a general unwillingness in the lieutenants and sergeants to undertake this discovery; so much under the command of the fort and hill; and that the troops were rather desirous

instead of slipping by, in the most hasty, dispersed, and unobserved manner they could; which Raleigh would by no means suffer, through consideration of their safety, without urging the regard he had to their credit in this enterprize; for being by this time well informed, the island could raise a thousand armed men, and, reasonably believing they would gather their greatest strength for the defence of their best town, towards which he was now marching, he concluded they would have it more in their power to defeat him advancing in little disorderly and scattered parties, than in a regular united body.

Raleigh hereupon bravely undertook the discovery himself; the only one, it seems, who despaired not of success to discover the ascents to the hill; the cannon-shot of the enemy, and the stones of the battered walls, flying on every side thick about him all the while. He still proceeded with an undaunted pace, to procure this knowledge of the safest way by which he was to lead the rest, though he perceived wounds and death dealt on either hand, and his own danger at every step more unavoidable. Some of his company in the march were hurt, two had their heads taken from their shoulders, and sir Arthur Gorges had his left leg shot through with a musket-ball.

Having, by this time, made a sufficient discovery, both of the way for his troops to pass, as also of the avenues to the high fort on the mountain, which he intended to attempt after he had secured the town; captain Berry, with Allen, and some others, advanced to him. Hereupon he sent some guides to captain Bret, with orders for him also to march up with the companies, that they might unite before they came to the town, because he there expected an engagement; or, at least, some

salley out of the fort at the end of it, which they must needs pass before they could get at the town; and which seemed to threaten resistance, being a very fine fortification, all of stone work, with curtain, flankers, and ditch, very artificially cast: but immediately upon Raleigh's approach with the body of his men, the Spaniards, it seems, abandoned it; for when he entered it, he found they were just departed. In like manner, as he marched on, he found the inhabitants had also forsaken the town, and left him in possession of it, with such wares and stores as could not suddenly be removed. Thus, though with much danger indeed, and some loss of about half a score men, with the hurt of little above double that number, Raleigh made himself master, in effect of the whole island.

This town, of which Raleigh was thus possessed, was called Villa Dorta, as it appears from Linc-thoen; who also informs us, the people were mostly of Dutch extraction, though they used the Portuguese language. Others who likewise describe it, reckon that it contained, even some years before this time, at least five hundred houses, built all of stone, with tiled roofs, and disposed into fine streets; besides a handsome church, nunnery, and friery; interspersed with many pleasant gardens of delicate fruits, and wells of fresh water; insomuch that, for bigness, it has been compared to Plymouth and Yarmouth, but in situation to Dover; and might probably now have been of as good advantage to sir Walter Raleigh, as it was eight years before to the earl of Cumberland, had he not, in compliment to the earl of Essex, obliged himself to so disadvantageous a delay in the conquest of it. However, because the town was unwalled, and he was to expect, if he lay there open and carelessly refreshing himself, while his soldiers

were

were scattered about in quest of provisions, he might easily be surprized, without some good orders and directions given before they fell to rest and repast, he issued forth, at his entrance, a proclamation, that none should straggle twenty-score yards from the town, without leave from an officer, and then go upon their guard, with fit weapons and company. He then made some strong barricadoes; planted a good watch in proper stations, and a strong corps de garde in the market-place, that others might in safety bring together such booty as the inhabitants had left behind.

Thus having refreshed and reposed themselves all night, the next morning, being the twenty-second of September, even before break of day, they discovered, bearing with full sail towards the road of Fayall, the earl of Essex and his fleet; he having been, all this while, making a kind of wild-goose chase after Indian fleets, and the Adelantado, who, it seems, never stirred out to sea this year, with other uncertain adventures.

Now, sir Guilly Merrick, sir Christopher Blount, sir Anthony Shirley, and some other fatal friends and cherishers of the earl's infirmities, soon disturbed, by their misrepresentations, all Raleigh's further intentions to secure the island. They insinuated to his lordship, that Raleigh had taken this opportunity to shew the world how well he could act the conqueror, only to steal honour and reputation from the general. They knew the earl's temper was as ready as tinder to catch fire at the least suggestion; wherefore they further represented this gallant action to the earl, as the contempt and violation of authority: from whence they inferred, that the presumption of landing such forces without his lordship's leave, was not to be passed over without severe punishment; and that it was fit a
court-

court-martial should be called, to censure the offence and breach of order and discipline. In short, the unpardonable crime was, that Raleigh dared to render himself more conspicuous than any body else; and he had been less culpable had he been less successful; they seeming rather willing to have endured blame for any ill success which might have occurred to him by their absence and restraint of aid, than allow of any praise for his being victorious without them. Nay, there were not wanting some, among Essex's commanders, who would needs shew the violence of their zeal for his lordship in such extremes, as to throw out, that Raleigh was well worthy of losing his head for his labour.

Essex, thus exasperated, spent all the forenoon in reprehending, displacing and confining all the land captains and officers who accompanied Raleigh; whilst he, expecting rather thanks, than such a perverse interpretation of his services, made ready his barge to go on board the general and guide him to land: but being entered his ship, he found all mens countenances estranged as he passed through them; and when he came to his cabin, the earl, after a feint welcome, began to accuse him with the breach of orders and articles. Raleigh answered, He knew not wherein he had been guilty of such a breach. Essex replied, There was an article that none should land any of the troops without the general's presence or his order. Raleigh desired leave to defend himself by those laws which himself, as well as others, had made, and his lordship, with the council of war, had authorized; then he should find that no misdemeanour had been committed: "for," said he, "there is an article, "indeed, that no captain of any ship, or of any "company, if he be separated from the fleet, shall
"land

“land any where without direction from the ge-
 “neral, or some other principal commander, upon
 “pain of death : but I take myself,” said Raleigh,
 “to be a principal commander under your lordship,
 “and therefore not subject to that article, nor un-
 “der the power of the martial law : because a suc-
 “cessive commander of the whole fleet, in her
 “majesty’s letters patents, your lordship and my
 “lord Thomas Howard failing. Besides, you
 “agreed I should land at this island with your
 “lordship, whom I have attended these four days;
 “and, finding that you came not, though you
 “were half a dozen leagues before me in your way
 “thither, I weighed anchor, and could not but
 “conclude, both that you thought me strong
 “enough to take this island, and were gone your-
 “self to take some others. Yet I refrained so
 “long from landing, at sir Guilly Merrick’s en-
 “treaty, that I heard my own company, even at
 “my back, murmur, and say that I durst not at-
 “tempt it : and, to tell you the plain truth, my
 “intent, at first, was only to water, till I saw them
 “follow me in that braving manner, which, with
 “our reputations, we could not then shun and
 “give over, being already in our boats for that
 “purpose : for, if I had intended the taking of the
 “town, I would never have removed so far from
 “our first road, which lay right before it.” As
 for those officers and gentlemen who had been
 committed, Raleigh desired they might receive no
 hard measure in his cause ; whatsoever his lordship
 conceived to be misdona, he must take it wholly on
 himself to answer, being, at that time, commander
 in chief.

With these and other arguments Essex was so
 well pacified, that he went ashore into the town,
 and

and rested himself in Raleigh's lodging. There Raleigh invited him to supper, and offered, if he meant to call the matter further in question, to claim no privilege of favour; but would answer for himself more amply in the morning. Sir Christopher Blount, taking the earl's answer from him, said, He thought my lord would not sup at all. To which Raleigh replied, That, for his own appetite, he might, when he was invited, disable it at his pleasure; but if the earl would stay he should be glad of his company.

In the mean time, the lord Thomas Howard, very nobly taking care that no disrespectful treatment should be offered to Raleigh, by the practice of his enemies, dealt with Essex to find how he stood resolved; and, the next morning, assured Raleigh, that his lordship sought only some acknowledgment; because the rest would think him a weak and tame commander if he had not satisfaction. Raleigh, considering he had done nothing unjustifiable, and very certain that he was successively in the commission for the whole command of the fleet, therefore not subject to any corporal danger, as also of the lord Thomas Howard's sincere and honourable dealing, came again in the morning to visit Essex; otherwise, remembering the little trust that men ought to repose in such reconciliations, and the strong malice borne him by others in greatest favour with his lordship, had designed to betake him to his own squadron, and so to have defended himself, or forsaken the earl: but the lord Thomas, after having given his honour with great kindness and resolution, that he would make himself a party if any wrong or violence were offered, contrary to his lordship's promise, persuading him to go and satisfy the earl,

Raleigh

Raleigh took his counsel; and all things, after a little debate, came to a calm and quiet conclusion.

After the army had plentifully regaled themselves with the best provisions the island would afford, and the disgraced captains were received again into favour and command, they hoisted sail; having first, in honour of their lost men, made the town itself their funeral pile, and carried all the artillery, and other stores they found therein, or in their forts, to their ships.

On the twenty-sixth of September, they cast anchor at Graciosa, where the chiefs of the island coming on board the general, submitted themselves with very acceptable humiliation, and willingly brought such provisions as were required for their composition. This homage of those people banished all thoughts in the earl of further repairing, in that place, the great charges he principally had created by this voyage: for, he seemed so charmed with submission, as to have disregarded the advantages it might have yielded; and fonder of having a power over his enemies, than of making any effectual use of it.

When they came to St. Michael's, they heard tidings of the Indian fleet; at which most joyful acclamations rung through all their ships. After having taken three Spanish prizes, they returned again to St. Michael's island, which they had left upon intelligence above-mentioned; and in this road Essex, with a great number of his officers, coming on board Raleigh's ship, hung out the flag of council; wherein they considered about landing, and taking of the fair town which lay so temptingly before their eyes, being unwalled, and having but a slight fort for its defence by the sea side. Essex was for landing all the companies immediately; but Raleigh desired that he himself might first go and survey the place; because the billows were
here

here, in some parts, no less dangerous than where he had made the experiment at Fayall. The earl, at first, consented; but, as Raleigh was putting off, Essex standing in his gallery with sir Christopher Blount, called him back in great haste, and said he would go himself. But, after many offers and surveys, made aloof, the conveniences of that place for landing were excepted against.

This descent being thus disliked, it was resolved, that Raleigh should, with all the great ships, lie as near before the town of St. Michael as he could to keep them in continual alarm; while Essex, in a pinnace of Raleigh's, called the Guiana, with about two thousand men in boats, should, by night, convey themselves about six miles further than their first intended landing, to the town called Villa-franca. Accordingly, they all landed the next morning at this town, without any manner of resistance, while the fleet kept the other in such constant dread and confusion, that they could not regard their near neighbours; to the end that the English army, having secured those, might the better fall on the back of these. But in vain did the fleet look over the hills and plains, in expectation of them; for that other pleasant town of Villa-franca had so enchanted the army, being full of fruits, wines, and fresh victuals, that the commanders, as well as their soldiers, were contented to take up their quarters, without further thoughts of St. Michael's town; and, for six days together, lay feasting and carrying on board the wheat, salt, woad, and other merchandize, into certain private mens ships that followed the fleet for such purposes. While Raleigh lay thus at anchor, there came into the road a ship of Brasil laden with the woods of that name, and of Fernambuc, with sugars as well as other merchandize, and anchored in the midst of the English fleet.

This

This ship, as sir Francis Vere also informs us, was taken by sir Walter Raleigh; and her cargoe, when brought into England, was very faithfully disposed of by Gorges, to defray the expences of all the men in Raleigh's own ship, to the number of four hundred, reckoning soldiers as well as mariners. Soon after, a huge carrack, of eighteen hundred ton burden, and infinite wealth, says Gorges, being laden with riches of the East and West, came bearing in with all her sails, also among them, whom she mistook for the Spanish Armada.

At sight of this carrack, Raleigh gave orders throughout his fleet to take in all their flags; also, that none should weigh anchor, fire a gun, or put off a boat without leave; but, as she was bearing in, one of the Holland Squadron, contrary to the direction and to all discretion, suddenly weighed anchor, hoisted top-sail, and, as she approached, made two or three shot at her; whereupon perceiving her mistake, she nimbly changed her course; at which instant the wind changing also, so that she could not escape outwards, she, availing herself of it, run herself a-ground close under the town and fort. Here, finding Raleigh follow her, and her danger inevitable, she discharged her men in the boats that flocked about, with some of her wares, and was then instantly set on fire in many places at once. Raleigh and his men still pursued to board her, and prevent her loss; though not without great danger in his row-barge as he was, the surge being very outrageous; but by the time he could get up to her, she was all over thunder and lightning; her ordnance discharging from every port, and her whole hulk, masts, cordage and furniture sunk, over-run with such a thorough yet distinct and unconfused blaze, as represented the

the figure of a ship more perfectly in fire, than could be done by any painter with all his art and colours: and, when she was consumed even to the surface of the water, she exhaled, as her last breath, such clouds from her spicy entrails as, for a great way, and for many hours, perfumed the air and coast around. Had the army then been at St. Michael's town, as was expected, it might have secured this ship before she could have disembarked her men; or, if it had terrified her back to sea, she must have been taken by the fleet; and then the treasures she contained, with those in this town, might probably have reimbursed the charges of their voyage.

Neither Essex nor his army being heard of in all this time, Raleigh was in a consultation about drawing up the fleet towards him, when he perceived the earl's ship, by her flag, turning out from the point of Villa Franca. Then Raleigh, taking captain Morgan in his barge, rowed to him, and, the same night, sent the captain back with directions, in the general's name, to command all the fleet to weigh and come to that town.

When the fleet was got up to the army at Villa Franca, a general command was given that all the companies should repair to their respective ships, for the time of the year approached that the winds and waves began to rise too high for them to ride on those coasts any longer: so they left this town also entire, upon what considerations our author knew not, but thought the woad-mongers and corn-merchants might be most likely to resolve the question.

On the ninth of October they set sail for England, having been dispersed for three or four days. They began to meet again, when they descried at a great distance the earl of Essex, accompanied with only two little barks; who, about a week before,

before, was attended with eighty sail of good ships.

After hailing and saluting one another, they consulted with their masters and pilots about the best course homewards, wherein those of Raleigh's ship differed much from those who guided the earl's: however, all followed the admiral, and, when he thought he was not far from the entrance of the Channel, all hands fell to sounding for ground, and at last found it, though to very little effect: but there was no convincing Essex, so all followed his erroneous light; yet Raleigh kept at some distance behind all night long. At break of day, though it was close and foggy, he perceived how providentially he had escaped destruction in the dark and dangerous passage he had made close by those fatal rocks called the Bishop and his Clerks. Soon after he also discerned Essex, and many with him, about three leagues before, bearing in with all their sail north-east, instead of east and by north, full upon the sands of the Welsh coast; on which, in that gloomy weather, he had certainly struck and perished, had he held on a little longer: and had not sir A. Gorges, who was then upon the latter watch (Raleigh being retired to rest) forced the master-gunner of his ship to discharge a warning-piece three or four times, much against his will, and that of the master himself, who, contrary to all duty and humanity, said, "they deserved to taste the peril of their own wilfulness, having brought themselves and all the fleet clearly out of their way into such danger."

Upon this admonition, Essex, with all his train, soon tacked about, and afterwards confessed his error. With much ado, they beat up to double

the Cape of Scilly, and entered the Sleeve. Raleigh, by this time, was shot along the north side of Cornwall; for his ship was so crazy, and his provisions so scanty, he durst not put again to sea, but stood along the coast; and that night anchored before St. Ives, where he found the Cornish people all in alarm, several Spanish caravals and flyboats which lay there, having made some descents by stealth, and put them into great fright and confusion: for Essex, because he met not with the Adelantado, had both believed and reported into England, that he never stirred out to sea this year; whereas, indeed, while the strength of the English navy lay before the islands, he had set out with a puissant fleet for the invasion of England; and these lesser vessels, which were sent before, here attended his coming: but that storm which so roughly scattered the English, dispersed this Spanish Armada, utterly disabled for this enterprize.

Raleigh arriving at this juncture, gave great joy to this part of the kingdom; and, being landed, he immediately took such measures for the safeguard of the county, whereof he was her majesty's lieutenant, as soon dispelled the fears of its inhabitants. Then, having supplied his ship with proper necessaries, he sent her round to the fleet, and she was paid off at Bristol, with the profits that arose from one of the prizes he had taken before-named.

Raleigh took his journey to Plymouth, where a commission came down from the state to lord Thomas Howard, lord Mountjoy, himself, and sir F. Vere, with monies for repairing, victualling, and sending about the fleet to Chatham; and for maintaining one thousand Low-Country soldiers, which were now quartered along the coast of Cornwall, and afterwards sent into Ireland.

Essex

Essex, in the mean while, posted away to London ; but, whatever advantage he might have in first shaping out the story of their adventures to the queen, it little availed him ; for sir Francis soon after arriving also at court, understood his lordship was retired to his house at Wansted in great discontent ; for the queen was so incensed against the earl, that she laid the whole blame of their ill success on his lordship, both for not burning and spoiling the Spanish fleet at Ferroll, and missing that which came from India.

Vere says, he justified his lordship, and laid the blame upon those who deserved it, with such earnestness, that the standers-by (her majesty then walking in the garden at Whitehall) might hear him : infomuch that he quieted the queen, as he tells us ; who then discoursed with him of the earl's humours and ambition ; and, at last, construed all so graciously, that she fell into commendation of him ; so that he soon after came to court, but staid not long there, nor with any satisfaction ; so insupportable was it to find Cecil master of the wards, the lord-admiral Howard created earl of Nottingham, for his services against the Spanish invasion and at Cadiz ; and now Raleigh's actions at the Islands esteemed also more considerable than his own, though indeed by the smaller number ; for the populace were easily led to believe the late disappointment of Essex's great expectations, was owing to Raleigh's regard of his own glory more than that of his country ; whereby Raleigh lost their opinion, even though victorious against their enemies, while Essex was sure to return with triumph, though he miscarried in his attempts. Still both enjoyed a considerable share in the queen's favour ; but it only confirmed the veneration of the multitude to the one, and their disaffection to the

the other; yet was their esteem more fatal to Essex, at least more speedily so, than their prejudice to Raleigh. However, the queen was little influenced with their partiality to either, till Essex too zealously cultivated that which so unreasonably increased in his favour; for she loved her people without jealousy, nor was offended at his being the darling of their eyes, till she found him inclined to be the darling of their hearts. Yet, whatever misconduct in others Raleigh might be now driven to object, in his own defence, his generosity to Essex, and some of his followers, whom he might have laid it upon, many years after their death, when there was little fear of being controverted, is so much above theirs to him while they were alive, that, having then occasion to mention this voyage, he does not drop the least inuendo against any of them; but ascribes their disappointments in it to the most unblameable cause.

We shall not take particular notice of the services done by sir Walter to particular persons in the parliament, nor of the public services which he performed in a court for stannary causes, held by him at Lostwithiel, but enter a little into the more open and public current of action. Here we must observe, that the earl of Essex had no enemies so great, or who so much conspired to his fall, as his own passions, his unreasonable expectations of an absolute conformity to his own will, and impatience to behold any body aspire to distinction, who did it not through his patronage and protection. Of this he gave a most notorious example about this time; in which he made Raleigh a public object of his opposition, though it ended in his own disgrace, and his relapse into the queen's displeasure; which he might have prevented, had he kept his word to the lord-keeper, and suffered Raleigh to
have

have triumphed alone : for, during this reconciliation, or last blaze Essex made with any credit at court, this memorable contest seems to have been promoted by him, at the martial exercises performed on the queen's birth-day, which was the seventeenth of November.

These martial exercises were the jousts, or tournaments wherewith the most active nobles and cavaliers of those times celebrated the queen's birth-day every year, in the Tilt-yard, near her palace at Whitehall. Here her majesty was commonly herself a spectator of them, with her attendants of both sexes, as likewise all the foreign ambassadors and a numerous concourse besides both of the court and city.

About the time that Essex, by many instances of his incurable humour to monopolize the multitude, fell into, or confirmed, the queen's displeasure, he had by some of his followers learned, that sir Walter Raleigh, with a very gallant train, was to make his appearance the next tilting day in orange-colour plumes. Hereupon Essex provided a much more numerous cavalcade, and decked them out exactly in Raleigh's colours. Then the earl himself appearing at the head of all, armed cap-a-pee in a compleat suit of orange colour, not only passed for the sole knight or champion of that distinction, by drowning all distinction in sir Walter Raleigh, but thereby incorporated him and his train only as so many more of his own esquires, pages, and other retinue or servants, who made up the parade upon these occasions. Yet the earl's success, which is also come to light, seems not to have been much regretted, being so agreeable to the merit of usurpers ; inasmuch that it proved Raleigh's feather triumph in the conclusion. For, though the lord Bacon might have reason not to

mention the earl's name, where he tells us, a gentleman, who came to the tilt all in orange-tawney, and ran very ill, came again the next day all in green, and ran worse; yet another author, instead of this gentleman, names Essex; and goes on, as the lord Bacon does, with observing, that “one
 “ of the spectators hereupon asking, “ Why this
 “ tilter (who seemed to be known in both habits)
 “ changed his colours;” another answered, “ Surely,
 “ because it may be reported, that there was
 “ one in green who ran worse than he in orange-
 “ colour.”

Such like disturbances and ill blood as these contests must have bred, might well make the queen weary of having Essex any longer about the court, and desirous of removing him to some employment where he might more commendably excuse his martial qualities. A good occasion offered itself in Ireland, where Tir-Oen's rebellion had now overspread almost the whole kingdom. A consultation was therefore held for sending over the fittest person to suppress it. The lord Mountjoy was first proposed; but Essex himself made exceptions against his want of experience and activity; alledging, Ireland required a person of the first rank, who was an old general, and considerable for honour, interest, and estate, to gain him respect and influence there; by which Camden thinks he would have recommended himself; and adds, that when the queen therefore resolved on Essex, he slightly refused it, advising her to some abler person; though, continues that historian, he had an objection ready against any person she should have named.

About four months after Essex was thus disposed of, there were great apprehensions in England of an invasion, but from what quarter is not well
 distin-

distinguished : six thousand soldiers were suddenly raised to guard the city and queen's person. Chains were drawn across the streets of London, watches set, and lights hung out at every man's door for above a fortnight. By sea, sixteen or eighteen ships of the royal navy were fitted out with wonderful speed, under the command of the lord Thomas Howard, as admiral, in the Elizabeth Jonas, and sir Walter, vice-admiral, in the Ark-Royal. Whether occasioned by any mistrust the English and Spaniards had of one another, or a policy held on both sides to make peace with sword in hand, is not easy to determine ; but is sure the preparation on both sides was very great, as if one expected an invasion from the other : and yet it was generally conceived not to be intended by either ; but that our fleet had only relation to the earl of Essex, then in Ireland, as if he had some desperate design to try his friends in England, and to be revenged of those he thought his enemies. However it was, the care and cost was not so great as necessary ; for it was known, that the Adelantado had drawn, both his ships and galleys, to the Groyne ; which was not usual, but upon some action intended for England or Ireland : and, seeing we were not to be surprized, he diverted them afterwards to a different use.

Another benefit that arose to the nation, by putting it into this sudden posture of defence, was the great dexterity and expedition wherewith it was taught to spring into arms : for the incredible speed and order of the commanders, in raising such a land army, and fitting out such a royal navy, was so admired, both by Spain, France, and Holland, that all foreigners confessed, “ Her ma-
 “ jesty's deeds in war were not heretofore more
 “ dreadful to her enemies, than now only her

“ preparations for it.” Infomuch, that it is said, an envoy was sent by the archduke from Brussels with overtures of peace, though they did not then succeed. Whether a designed invasion from Spain was hereby prevented, or her majesty was better satisfied about the earl of Essex, we find not ; but she commanded her fleet home, after it had been about a month at sea.

Near a month after this, Essex returned privately out of Ireland, with some of his choice friends ; one whereof, named sir Christopher St. Lawrence, offered to murder the lord Gray, whom they met upon the road, and to dispatch secretary Cecyl when they came to court : but Essex would not encourage so base an act.

The queen was now at Nonfuch ; hither Essex hastened to present himself on his knees before her, in her privy-chamber early in the morning, and when her majesty least dreamt of him, says Camden ; who adds, that she entertained him with some marks of her grace and favour, though not with that freedom he used to find. The queen indeed ordered Essex to his apartment, and there to continue, as Camden goes on ; for the earl had not only disobliged her before, but now given fresh provocation by leaving Ireland without her permission, and for thrusting up a truce there, which might be broke at a fortnight’s warning ; whereas he might have made an effectual accommodation with the rebels, and was empowered to give them a general act of indemnity.

The excuses he offered before the council were so unsatisfactory, and his behaviour so contemptuous, that the queen thought proper to commit him to custody ; but appointed it to be in the lord-keeper’s house rather than a common prison, chiefly to obstruct the suggestions of his pernicious adherents,

adherents, to whom he was so infatuated, that he could not forsake them, though one of the objections, which would be raised against him, was the leaving that kingdom in such an unsettled posture, and returning into this, with such a number of swordsmen at his heels.

While Essex was thus in confinement, commissioners were sent over to Buloigne to negotiate the peace with Spain. This was in May 1600; and, about the same time, we find sir Walter Raleigh was also sent, with the lord Cobham, upon an embassy concerning the same, into Flanders. Their business was kept very secret; yet Albert, archduke of Austria, and governor of the Netherlands, having charged the queen of England, it seems, with relieving the Hollanders, and being likely to take some umbrage at so many persons of considerable rank going over volunteers to prince Maurice, as the lord of Northumberland, lord Rutland, and others; secretary Cecyl wrote to the said commissioners at Buloigne, that if the archduke Joseph should object in the like manner to Cobham and Raleigh, they were to return answer, "That these had no charge, nor carried
"either horse or men, except some half dozen of
"their own attendants; and, finding the queen
"so resolved to have a peace (if good conditions
"could be had) they obtained leave, with im-
"portunity, to see that one action (then expect-
"ed) before they might despair of seeing any more
"of the like kind in her majesty's time."

So much of this matter we have in a letter of secretary Cecyl's to those commissioners. In another written by sir Henry Neville, who was one of those commissioners, to Mr. Winwood, he mentions it as a report, that Cobham and Raleigh were gone over upon pretext to see the camp and
siege

siege of Fort Isabella near Ostend, before which prince Maurice lay; but thinks they had some other end; and that in England there was some alarm taken at these matters, although he was not worthy to be let into the secret.

The said sir Henry, in another letter to Mr. Winwood, says, that the journey of Cobham and Raleigh was not upon curiosity only; but that they carried some message (to prince Maurice it seems) which did no harm; and that he would reveal the particulars when he was better informed of them. These three letters were written in July this year, and in the first of them we perceive Raleigh was returned into England by the fourteenth day of the said month.

When he arrived at court, the government of Jersey was, it seems, vacant by the death of sir Anthony, son of sir Amias Paulet. Application was made to the queen by many for this preferment; but she thought none so worthy of it as sir Walter Raleigh. About six weeks after, that is, in the latter end of August, his patent was passed, with grant of the manor or lordship of St. Germain in the said island, and all the lands and tenements therein.

After Essex, with his party, had made several excursions, and some persons had been slain both on his side and the queen's. After he had been proclaimed a traitor by the king at arms in several parts of the city; and was driven, by water, to seek garrison in his own house; we find Raleigh mentioned among the several nobles and knights who invested it; though he appears in no particular action against the said earl or his company. But, when the earl soon after surrendered himself, and was brought to examination, he confessed that he was to have been assaulted or assassinated

rated by his private enemies : of this we have the following account published by authority.

“ As in all former discontentments, he had gone
 “ the beaten path of traitors, turning their impu-
 “ tation upon counsellors and persons of credit
 “ with their sovereign : so now he was forced to
 “ descend to the pretext of a private quarrel ;
 “ giving out, how that evening, when he should
 “ have been called before the lords of the coun-
 “ cil, there was an ambuscade of musketeers
 “ placed upon the water, by the advice of my lord
 “ Cobham and sir Walter Raleigh, to have mur-
 “ dered him in the way as he passed. A matter of
 “ no probability, (continues this author) those
 “ persons having no such desperate estates or
 “ minds as to ruin themselves and their posterity
 “ by committing so odious a crime. On the con-
 “ trary, it was certain, sir Ferdinando Gorges
 “ accused Blount persuading him to kill, or at
 “ least apprehend sir Walter Raleigh ; and that
 “ Gorges, rejecting this advice, Blount sent four
 “ shot after him in a boat, which Blount denied
 “ not ; and asked Raleigh forgiveness for it at the
 “ time of his death.”

But, there were other improbabilities to dis-
 credit this slander ; besides, that the persons so
 accused, had reputations and estates better esta-
 blished, than to overthrow them by such a detest-
 able deed ; “ as Essex’s declining to produce or
 “ name any author of such an information : be-
 “ sides, his contradicting himself in the place ; as
 “ one while he was to have been murdered in his
 “ bed, and another, on the water : also, in the
 “ time and persons ; as that it was to have been
 “ done by jesuits, and some days before ; so that,
 “ in the end, this accusation by Essex was com-
 “ pared to the action of Pisistratus, who proceed-
 “ ed

“ ed so far in this kind of fiction and dissimula-
 “ tion, that he lanced his own body, and came
 “ wounded before the people, as though he had
 “ been assaulted by his private enemies ; thus ob-
 “ tained a guard about his person, whereby he
 “ afterwards usurped the state.”

Further, what may perfectly clear up the inno-
 cence of Cobham and Raleigh from this unworthy
 calumny, is the acknowledgment which Blount
 made at his own trial; when, being asked by se-
 cretary Cecyl, “ Whether he thought my lord
 “ Cobham and sir Walter Raleigh intended any
 “ such assassination of the earl ? he answered, that
 “ he did not believe they ever meant any such
 “ thing, nor that the earl himself feared it ; only,
 “ it was a word cast out to colour other mat-
 “ ters.”

And lastly, what may tend to prove, that Ra-
 leigh did rather compassionate and incline to be-
 friend the earl, than harbour any enmity that was
 implacable against him, is, that one of the earl’s
 own faction, captain Thomas Lee, should have
 such hopes, that Raleigh might be persuaded into
 the danger of disobliging the queen by impor-
 tunity, or other violent means, for retrieving
 both Essex and Southampton from the jaws of
 death, as to tell sir Robert Cross, who had been
 an old officer under Raleigh in several engage-
 ments at sea, “ That sir Walter Raleigh might
 “ get himself eternal honour and love, more than
 “ ever he can otherwise, if he would procure her
 “ majesty’s warrant to free the lords ; which he
 “ might compass, by undertaking her person :”
 for this does not only shew the opinion that was
 held of Raleigh’s power with the queen, but the
 probability that he might be induced to exert it
 for the rescue of those noblemen.

We

We find he did use his interest for some who were drawn in unawares, and got a pardon for sir Edmund Bainham, as well as for John Littleton, and Orell a brave old soldier.

On the nineteenth of February, Essex was arraigned at Westminster; and we find, in his trial, that sir Walter Raleigh, with forty of the queen's guard, was as captain thereof, there present upon duty. Six days after the earl was beheaded in the court-yard of London tower. Among the many persons of distinction there present, was sir Walter Raleigh, probably in his charge again as captain of the guard. He stood near the scaffold, according to his own assertion, that he might better answer, if Essex should be desirous of speaking to him. But his enemies explained his presence there in such a barbarous sense, says Camden, as if he had pressed near the place of execution, only to feast his eyes with the tragedy of the earl's sufferings; and the greatest or most notorious of Raleigh's enemies (who is known to us) he who betrayed him to his untimely end, as will be observed, after Raleigh's death, insinuated, that he not only insulted upon Essex being dead, but even plotted his downfall, as that "he had called "the earl's faintship in question;" had writ in some letters, "that the great boy died like a "calf, and like a Craven;" and that, soon after his execution, a gentleman, returning from Spain, touched at Sherborne, who, being asked by Raleigh, "What they said in Spain of Essex's death, "answered, "They had not heard of it; but he "was sorry to hear, that in the island voyage, the "earl had brought him to his mercy;" to which Raleigh answered, "But I trust I am now quit "with him;" and, as a more evident demonstration, says he, that the night before the earl's suffer-

sufferings, Raleigh gave instructions to the lieutenant of the Tower for the execution of the warrant: which surely he did not do without authority. But these particulars, it must be observed, come from the person stigmatized with having ensnared Raleigh to his destruction, and to the person who destroyed him, with intention to palliate the conduct of both to the world.

As for Raleigh's behaviour to Essex, we may guess what it was while the earl was alive, since he made no exceptions to it at his death, when he had free liberty of speech; and, when Raleigh came to the same end, it appears by his last words, that he had relented more at the earl's fate, than any thing we hear of in his pretended friends; and that he retired from the sight of the earl at the time of his death, in compliance with the misconstruction of the populace, though he afterwards repented it; since the earl had a desire to see and speak with him before he took his farewell of the world.

This desire was, in all probability, to ask Raleigh forgiveness, for having so dishonourably treated and traduced him, to countenance his own rash purposes. For just such a desire had sir Christopher Blount, when his own execution approached on the eighteenth of March following at Tower-hill; where, understanding that Raleigh, as captain of the guard, was near the scaffold, he said, "Sir Walter Raleigh, I thank God that you
 "are present: I had an infinite desire to speak
 "with you, to ask you forgiveness e'er I died;
 "both for the wrong done you, and for my particular ill intent towards you: I beseech you
 "forgive me." Raleigh answered, "that he
 "most willingly forgave him, and besought God
 "to forgive him, and to give him his divine comfort; protesting before the Lord, that whatever
 "sir

“sir Christopher Blount meant towards him, for
 “his part, he never bore him any ill intent.”
 And further said to him, “I pray you, without
 “offence, let me put you in mind, that you have
 “been esteemed not only a principal provoker
 “and persuader of the earl of Essex in all his un-
 “dutiful courses, but especially an adviser in that
 “which has been confessed, of his purpose to
 “transport a great part of her majesty’s army out
 “of Ireland into England, to land at Milford,
 “and thence to turn it against her sacred person.
 “You will do well to tell the truth herein, and to
 “satisfy the world.”

Blount replied, “When I was brought from
 “Reban to Dublin, and lodged in the castle, his
 “lordship and the earl of Southampton came to
 “visit me; and he began thus plainly with me:
 “That he intended to transport a choice part of
 “the army of Ireland into England, and land
 “them in Wales at Milford, or thereabouts; and
 “so securing his descent, would gather such other
 “forces as would enable him to march to London.”
 “I answered, I would that night consider of it.”

Next day the earls came again; I told them,
 “Such an enterprize, as it was most dangerous,
 “would cost much blood; so as I could not like
 “it. But I rather advised him to go over him-
 “self, with a good train, and make sure of the
 “court, then make his own conditions; and,
 “though we never resolved to hurt her majesty’s
 “person, yet I know, and must confess, if we
 “had failed of our ends, we should, rather than
 “have been disappointed, even have drawn blood
 “from herself.” Then giving a few farther hints
 of their progress in general, he leaves the rest to
 his confessions made before the privy-counsellors,
 whom he names, and to whom he beseeches sir
 Walter Raleigh to commend him for their favour-
 able

able and charitable dealing. Lastly, having also declared he died in the catholic faith, and bid farewell to the lords Gray, Compton, and the rest, he made a decent end.

The following summer, in the year 1601, it appears, that Raleigh attended upon the queen in her progress; and, when the king of France came to Calais, on the alarm of the archduke's besieging of Ostend, her majesty was at Dover. Embassadors were sent over by both on this occasion; and, in that private dispatch of the marquis of Rosney, afterwards duke of Sully, related only by himself, we find, that, upon his landing at Dover, he was received by Raleigh, in company with the lords Cobham, Sidney, and others.

The interview, then expected between these two princes, was not brought to pass; nor seem the proposals, made to her majesty about the war with Spain, to have had the full effect that was hoped for; because, not long after, on the fifth of September, there arrived at London another embassador from France, named the duke of Biron, with a very noble, numerous, and stately equipage, to the number of three or four hundred persons. The queen was then in Hampshire; and, during the thirteen days she was entertained at Basing, the marquis of Winchester's seat, the duke of Biron, with his retinue, was brought to the Vine, a fair house in the said county, of the lord Sandys, which was furnished with one hundred and forty beds by the neighbouring gentry, and with all other accommodations from the queen's palaces, for the reception of the said embassador. It is more particularly to be expected, that Raleigh here attended upon the court, because he was commonly appointed to entertain the foreign ministers, especially of France or the States, being so well acquainted with those people and their policies:

cies : and when the queen left the country, we find, among the ten persons she there knighted (a greater number than ever she had conferred that honour upon at one time) that one of them was Carew, the brother of sir Walter Raleigh.

Soon after the queen's return from this progress, her last parliament met at Westminster, and that was on the twenty-seventh day of October. This was a session full of important business, and Raleigh appears frequently engaged in it.

The first speech we have of sir Walter's upon record in this parliament, was on November the fourth, and in opposition to the act for sowing of hemp. "For my part, said he, I do not like this constraining of men to manure or use their ground at our wills; but rather let every man use his ground to that which it is most fit for, and therein use his own discretion. For halsters, cables, cordage, and the like, we have plentifully enough from foreign nations; and we have countries here in England that make use thereof in abundance: and the bill of tillage may be a sufficient motive to us in this case, not to take the course that this bill intends. For where the law provides, that every man must plow the third part of his land, I know divers poor people have done so, to avoid the penalty of the statute, when their abilities have been so poor, that they have not been able to buy seed-corn to sow it withal; nay, they have been fain to hire others to plow it; which, if it had been unploughed, would have been good pasture for beasts, or might have been converted to other good uses."

Upon this motion, all the house bid away with the bill: but it was put to the question, whether it should be committed or no? Some doubt ari-

sing, the the house was divided ; and the yea's were 103, the noes 162 ; so the bill was not committed. It was afterwards put to the question for ingrossing ; and, notwithstanding Mr. Comptroller's speech for the importance of it (which is not preserved) it was denied, and so absolutely rejected. Three days after, sir Walter Raleigh was at the committee in the house, touching the subsidy. Here he moved them to consider for what intent they came thither, and now in their coming, what was to be considered.

“ For the subsidy, said he, the manner and
“ quality thereof, I will now only intimate thus
“ much to you ; that the last parliament, only
“ three subsidies were granted, upon fear that the
“ Spaniards were coming ; but now we see they
“ are come, and have set foot in the queen's territories already ; therefore are the more of us to
“ be respected and regarded. ‘ And, seeing the sale
“ of her majesty's own jewels ; the great loans her
“ subjects have lent her, yet unpaid ; the continual selling of her lands, and decaying of her
“ revenues ; the sparing even out of her own
“ purse and apparel for our own sakes, will not
“ serve ; but she must yet be fain to call her court
“ of parliament for our advice and aid in this case ;
“ I wish, for my part, as a particular member of
“ the commonwealth, that we may not do less
“ than we did before ; and that we may also bountifully, according to our estates, contribute to
“ her majesty's necessities, as they now stand.”

This speech was confirmed by many other members, and met with no opposition that we read of. But the manner of raising this subsidy created some short debate ; in which sir Francis Hastings moved, that the three pound men might be exempted ;

empted; and all others, above that rate, to pay according to the rate, to make up a full subsidy.

To this sir Walter Raleigh answered, "If all pay, none will be aggrieved; if any be exempted, doubtless it will breed much grief; the feeling will be great to those three pound men that will feel any thing; but it will be nothing to them that know any thing."

Sir Edward Hobby, who, it seems, sat next the door, not hearing well this speech, said, "You should speak standing, that the house might hear you." Raleigh answered, That being in a committee, he might speak sitting or standing: so (without rising) repeated his former words. In the end, this proposal was agreed to, and secretary Cecyl reported to the whole house, "That most voices concluded, there should be no exception of the three pound men; because, according to their rate, some were assessed under value; besides, separation might breed emulation, suspicion of partiality and confusion."

Besides the speeches Raleigh made in parliament, he appears in the committees of many other bills, and in several conferences with the lords, as may be seen in the journal-books of both houses; we therefore shall only observe, that the Commons, having granted the queen a liberal subsidy, and her majesty given her royal assent to nineteen public and ten private acts, this last parliament, in her reign, was dissolved on the nineteenth of December.

Among the rest of the particulars, we shall briefly relate of sir Walter Raleigh, in this last year of of the queen's reign; a voyage, which he now set out for the supply of his colony in Virginia, is principally to be remembered. For, though he had made an assignment of his patent to other un-

dertakers, yet they making no successful progress, he was careful of the English he had planted there, that he sent to them almost every other year, even from the time of the said assignment. For, besides the five voyages before epitomized, which himself chiefly was at the expence of, for the first plantation of Virginia, we are well informed of five voyages more; which, since those he undertook for the relief of his countrymen, as well as for further discoveries of those parts, and alliance with the people; and, that the last of these voyages, under the command of captain Samuel Mace, was made this year. In all which, sir Walter Raleigh might very well have disbursed forty thousand pounds; yet were not the English so securely established in this most promising plantation, as sir Walter Raleigh would have had them; for, from the short account we have of this last voyage, and other circumstances, we may observe the said colony was much impaired by the barbarous Indians, as indeed Raleigh's purse seems also to have been by these frequent communications to it. Nor, was it without much blood, as well as money, that this settlement was at last fixed by the succeeding undertakers in the next reign; and all owing to the want of that timely and competent assistance from the queen or 'state, whereby the most worthy attempts for the public good were even in these, as well as other times, so generally starved. But Raleigh afterwards gave some emphatical reasons for this misfortune; whence we may evidently perceive, it was to the queen's consulting so much, and relying upon the persuasions of her scribes, men unexperienced in all warlike or adventurous enterprizes, narrow domestic politicians, or mere courtiers, who were most constant at her ear; that she so frequently did things by halves, as well in conquests

quests and discoveries, as in rewards and preferments, especially of military men.

Whether the expence of those voyages was the cause of sir Walter Raleigh's selling, about this time, his estate, or some part of it, in Ireland, is not so expressly told us, as that it was become less advantageous to him since the late rebellion in that kingdom. But we find, that a little before, sir George Carew, now president of Munster, took the castle of Carigfoyl Kerry, Mr. Richard Boyle (afterwards earl of Corke) not only bought a ship of sir Walter Raleigh's, called the Pilgrim, but soon after the said president conquered Brehaven castle, he having advised the said Mr. Boyle to buy also sir Walter's lands in Munster, sent him into England with two letters; the one to secretary Cecyl, giving an account of Mr. Boyle's abilities, desired, that he would introduce him to sir Walter Raleigh, and recommended him to this great man, as a proper purchaser of his said lands; the other letter was written by sir George Carew, to sir Walter Raleigh himself, acquainting him, that the bearer was capable of making the purchase; and that he thought he might be willing to dispose of it, since the management thereof, in those turbulent times, gave him a great deal of trouble, and the income it produced was very inconsiderable: so, after a meeting, the bargain was struck up, and conveyances executed. These lands, soon after, in the peaceable times, became a great estate to Mr. Boyle: and this purchase, as he afterwards gratefully remembered, in the Memoirs he wrote of his own life, when he was earl of Corke, "was the third addition and rise to his "estate."

As for the estate at Sherborne, it appears, he now settled it upon his son Walter; and that the

deeds were drawn in Midsummer, this present year, for so we have it from his own words.

The reason of settling his estate upon his son at this time, appears also to have risen from a challenge which he had lately received from sir Amias Preston, and which Raleigh says himself, he intended to answer. The cause of their quarrel it is not easy to know; but, it is probable that Raleigh had good reason on his side, because he afterwards shewed publicly himself, how deliberate he was in his preparations for it, by digesting his writings, and how resolved, by settling his estate. But, from what excellent hands soever Dr. Fuller received his information, that, upon some distaste, sir Amias sent Raleigh this challenge; we may be pretty certain from what Raleigh has mentioned, that the said information, or this author's account of it, is erroneous, where he adds, "That sir Walter declined it."

However, they were afterwards reconciled; and, upon the whole, sir Walter Raleigh seems to have shewn a much more creditable conduct herein, than sir Francis Vere a little while before had done in the difference between him and a certain nobleman.

But here we are no longer to take notice of such open adversaries; for now, in the very close of this year, on the twenty-fourth of March, ends the long reign of glorious Elizabeth, and now sets the sun of Raleigh's external honour and felicity. How he fell into this eclipse, record, the only luminary of time past, does but dimly discover. All we can do, is diligently to assemble every unextinguished spark which darts any light this way; then see if they will afford that guidance to the truth, by being brought together, which they have not yet been observed to yield asunder And first,

first, we should take notice of the prepossessions which Essex is affirmed to have instilled unto king James against Raleigh; and, after the earl's death, there are several circumstances implying that Cecyl did the like. For though Cecyl and Raleigh joined against Essex and his faction; yet, when these were overthrown, they divided, they seem to have a trial of skill with one another.

In short, Cecyl appeared to have used those arts of insinuation which king James, before his coming into England; to which Raleigh could not bend himself. That he then held clandestine correspondencies with Scotland, is apparent from that story in sir Henry Wotton, who tells us, "That her majesty, taking the air on Blackheath, attended by Cecyl when the post rode by; and, hearing he came from Scotland, she called for his packet: Cecyl, though he knew it contained letters, which, to discover, were as so many serpents, yet, making more shew of diligence than doubt, to obey, called in great haste for a knife to rip it up; but, approaching at some distance with it, he told the queen it looked and smelled so ill-favourdly, coming out of the filthy budget, that it must needs be aired first, because he knew how offensive ill scents were to her majesty: so got opportunity to separate what he would not have seen;" and she suspected nothing of the matter. One talent above the rest Cecyl was not wanting in to recommend him to this new sovereign; this was such a faculty of discovering plots, as if he thought he should be looked on as useless without them.

And, as for king James, he was so apprehensive, so susceptible of such impressions, that, when he was but crossed or disturbed in his sports, he would charge people with treason: nay, we are

particularly told, by those who were otherwise friends to his memory, that his carver, once at table, giving him accidentally a nick on the finger, his majesty, at the sight of his own blood, could not forbear calling out treason ; and that Gustavus Adolphus, king of Sweden, was wont to make himself merry with this expression. We have given these examples to shew how groundless king James's suspicions of treason were.

What indeed seems sufficient to have incensed the king against Raleigh, was his being of that party, who, in regard of the inveterate feuds between England and Scotland, desired the king might be obliged to articles. There were not wanting still other particulars, which might render Raleigh obnoxious to a man of the king's jealous disposition ; “ for he had (at the time of his ac-
 “ cession to the throne) the daughter and heir of Bas-
 “ set to his ward, who was to be married to his
 “ son Walter, her estate worth three thousand
 “ pounds per annum ; but she was (after his con-
 “ demnation, we suppose) taken from him, and
 “ married to Mr. Henry Howard, who died sud-
 “ denly at table ; and she was afterwards married
 “ to the earl of Newcastle, who professed he
 “ would never have wedded her, if young Wal-
 “ ter Raleigh had been alive ; conceiving her, be-
 “ fore God, to be his wife ; for they were married
 “ as much as children could be.”

Now these Bassets, as we find elsewhere, were those of Umberleigh and Heanton-Court in Devonshire ; who, being descended from the Plantagenets, laid some claim at this very time of the king's entrance to the crown of England.

But whatever discountenance Raleigh might receive at his first meeting of the king, in his jour-
 ney



E

ney from Scotland, whence he set out on the fifth of April, 1603; and arrived at Theobalds, which was Cecyl's seat, on the third of May, and at London four days after; it seems not to have amounted to a peremptory dismissal from his majesty's service or presence. For we are told, "the king used Raleigh for some weeks with great kindness, and was pleased to acknowledge divers presents which he had received from him being in Scotland; for which he gave him thanks. But, finding him a martial man, addicted to foreign affairs and great actions, he feared lest he should engage him in a war."

That Raleigh was in company with the king, and that some of his conversation turned upon this subject we have from his own words; where he says, "I offered his majesty, at my uncle Carew's, to carry two thousand men to invade the Spaniards without the king's charge." And this agrees with his writing a discourse, which he did, or intended to deliver to his majesty against the peace with Spain now in treaty, which seems to be the same that was one hundred years afterwards published by his grandson. Herein he advised his majesty to protect the Netherlands; for, says he, "a poor neighbour's house, set on fire, is to be better guarded or watched, than a great city afar off." Herein he persuades the king to deliberate, and not come to a hasty conclusion of peace with the Spaniards; "for, when the house is built, it is ill mending the foundation." Herein he says, "I dare not write all I desire; for I know not to whose hands these may come. This I beseech your majesty to know, that it proceeds from an humble and a faithful heart, which your majesty cannot beat from the love of your royal person and good estate."

And

And lastly, we shall observe, that herein he likewise mentions another discourse, “How war may be made against Spain and the Indies; which I will, says he, also present your majesty, if you will vouchsafe the reading thereof; but this, it is apprehended, has never appeared in print.

The former of these discourses is humbly and discreetly addressed, with variety of arguments and observations from his own knowledge and experience; strengthened with many historical examples of foreign countries, and political maxims or sentences from the ancient classics: all which he had plentifully at command in any topic he undertook to write, or even speak of: such the extensiveness of his remarks and his reading; such the felicity of his memory and talents of application. But, if reason would have prevailed, it was not wanting also from other hands; so that sir Walter Raleigh was not singular in his remonstrances to the king, but had the satisfaction of seeing foreigners, as well as his own countrymen, subscribe to his sentiments; and the lord Henry Howard, though otherwise brought into the court measures, yet could not, it seems, consent to these of a general pacification; therefore was, as well as Raleigh, excluded from the benefit of those rich presents, which the marquis of Rosny, ambassador from France, made to all those courtiers who promoted them; insomuch, that Howard, being asked by the king, “How it happened he had not a jewel as well as the rest?” answered, in allusion to Æsop’s fable, “Non sum Gallus, itaque non reperi gemmam.”

The causes, which moved the king of Spain to sue for this peace, Raleigh afterwards, with great perspicuity, laid open; but his present opposition of it, and the consequences of that, seem to have been

from the hinges upon which his whole fortune now turned; the most apparent cause of all those sorrows and sufferings which fill up the melancholy remains of his story. This unfortunate event, which he was above shunning by temporising in a matter which he knew so highly concerned the honour and advantage of his country, he has himself excellently accounted for, where he shews the ill success which attends such sincere conduct, and how prosperity is the fruit of slavish or hypocritical compliances.

We have already seen several circumstances whereby Raleigh might undesignedly, and unluckily become disagreeable to a man of king James's temper; but, on the other side, little or nothing that could so inflame Raleigh against the king, as to make him run headlong into such violent conspiracies as could only end in his own ruin. Suppose the king did discourage Raleigh's attendance upon him at his entrance, dislike his patent for wines, or removed him from the guards, to oblige sir Thomas Erskine, his countryman and favourite, whom he afterwards preferred to higher dignities; will this be thought sufficient provocation for a man of Raleigh's reason and judgment, so tender of fame and reputation, so settled in family, so well situated in his fortune, no less than three thousand pounds a year, as was confessed at his trial, besides many other profitable possessions, the seas as well as the land, to plot commotions or insurrections; yet enervate himself for the execution of them, by resigning, as he says himself he did, his office of chiefest power, the wardship of the Stannaries? Nay, further, to herd with a motley and disjointed crew of priests, also with professed enemies to himself, not to mention knaves
and

and fools ; and, on a sudden, resolve to turn rebel, ruffian and cut-throat ; to be the Coryphæus, to murder the king with his own hand, and all his innocent progeny ? For this is the charge that the fertile pens of French writers have heaped upon him. Now these tell over this desperate story thus :

“ In the month of June, sir Walter Raleigh, a
 “ man equally dexterous at consultation or action,
 “ says Thuanus, and famous for his memorable
 “ expeditions to the Indies, taking leave of his
 “ sister at London, entreated her to commend him
 “ to God in her prayers, for he was going to a
 “ place from whence he expected never to return.
 “ She, suspecting that he was going to fight a
 “ duel, with the same levity dispersed it among
 “ the ladies of her acquaintance, till the rumour
 “ came to court. Then Raleigh’s friends and re-
 “ lations flocked about him to know this enter-
 “ prize ; he, apprehending himself detected, rea-
 “ dily made a whole confession and discovery of the
 “ matter. The king was informed, and greatly
 “ astonished, but would needs have Raleigh be-
 “ fore him, who, then asking his pardon, acknow-
 “ ledged, that, seeing his majesty give more coun-
 “ tenance to the Scots than the English, and had
 “ deprived him of his command in the guards, and
 “ that many great men expected, when he was
 “ established on the throne, he would be revenged
 “ for the death of his mother, he had therefore
 “ entered into a conspiracy with others, whom he
 “ named, to shed his royal blood ; and that they
 “ had unanimously deputed him to be his majesty’s
 “ executioner, when he rode a hunting. Here-
 “ upon the said conspirators were taken up and
 “ tried, as these authors proceed to relate.”

If

If there had been any truth in this ridiculous story, that confession had neither escaped the attorney-general Coke at Raleigh's trial, when they were so lamely put to it to bring him in guilty without sufficient proof, nor king James's apologetical declaration after Raleigh's death, in which his majesty and his council together, have no less lamely offered weaker reasons for taking away his life, as will be fully represented in its proper place.

By our English accounts it appears there was somewhat of a plot, but it was never proved that Raleigh was engaged in it; however, his great enemy, the attorney-general Coke, affected to compare him with the conspirators, "to Sampson's foxes, which were joined in the tails, though their heads were severed." What share he had in that plot may further be judged by the promotions which the conspirators intended themselves upon the success of it; for whereas one was to be lord-chancellor, another lord-marshal, this lord-treasurer, that master of the horse, and t'other secretary of state; how comes it, as one author well observes, that Raleigh, able to officiate any, had no office in the state assigned him? But perhaps the best means to clear him, may be the very trial by which he was condemned.

It is too common, and too tedious, to be thought needful of transcribing it here at length; not to say so full of barbarous partiality and foul language, especially by Coke himself, that he was exposed for it upon the public theatre; and those, who revere the laws of our country, have been so ashamed of it, as rather to wish the proceedings have been falsely related, than believe such a sentence could pass upon such insufficient evidence. But the character

rafter of this trial, and of that attorney-general, we leave to others; and shall here only, from the several copies or accounts of it, draw out a short regular narrative of the most material matters of fact, wherein Raleigh appears any way concerned; and it is as follows:

There was one Matthew de Laurencie, a merchant of Antwerp, attendant on count Aremberg, who now, about the beginning of June, came over embassador-extraordinary from Albert, archduke of Austria, to congratulate king James, and assist in bringing about the general peace. With this merchant the lord Cobham had intelligence some years before, upon matters of state, with licence. Five days after Aremberg's arrival, that is to say, about the ninth of the same month, Cobham repaired to him with Laurencie, and that night Cobham supped with sir Walter Raleigh at Durham house in the Strand; whereby Raleigh came to understand, that Cobham had fresh negociations with Aremberg; and was, as the chief of those who refused the peace, offered a sum of money by Cobham to be a promoter of it; though that offer, also made to Raleigh before Aremberg came, was afterwards pretended, as will appear, to have been for treasonable purposes.

In the next month, those persons with whom Cobham transacted the conspiracy, or part of it, then on foot, were discovered; either by the Spanish faction in revenge to Raleigh, the greatest enemy of Spain alive, thinking he was then too far hampered in, or acquainted with it, to escape; or by some one of the English conspirators to secure himself: and when the lord Cecyl (for he was lately made baron of Essenden) found, upon the first news of Anthony Copley, one of these conspirators,

reason, who was apprehended on the sixth of July, that the king's person was to be surprized by the lord Grey of Wilton, and George Brook, brother to the lord Cobham, he suspected Cobham himself was in the secret; and Cobham's great intimacy with Raleigh at this time, who was now buying an estate for him, and settling his household affairs, drew also into Raleigh suspicion.

Hereupon Cecyl, meeting Raleigh upon Windsor Terrace, tells him, "the lords of the council had something to say to him:" so he was examined about the surprizing treason, and particularly about Cobham, as appears from his own words, whom he fully cleared. After examination, Raleigh further said, "Whatsoever correspondence there was between Cobham and Aremberg, Laurencie might be better able to give account of it; therefore advised to the calling upon him; though," as he further explained, "he knew of no intelligence between them, but such as might be warranted:" and that advice he wrote also in a letter to Cecyl.

When Raleigh returned from examination a private prisoner to his own house, Cobham sent to him to know what had passed; Raleigh writ an answer by captain Keymis, That he was examined, and had cleared him of all; and Keymis bid Cobham be of good comfort, for one witness could not condemn him. This precaution, to arm Cobham against making discoveries, was, after his confession of it, objected against Raleigh; but he utterly denied, that he sent any such verbal message.

Now, when Cobham was brought to his examination at Richmond, one date whereof appears to have been the eighteenth of July; and after he had, by a constant denial, cleared both himself and Raleigh of all that was questioned against them,
Cobham

Cobham was, by device, says my author (in an epistolary narrative of his trial, at which he was present) induced to think, that Raleigh had first impeached and betrayed him. For that part of Raleigh's letter aforesaid to Cecyll, referring the lords to Laurencie for Cobham's transactions with Aremberg, being shewed to Cobham, and accompanied, it seems, with such artful suggestions as were proper to inflame a man of Cobham's weakness, had the desired effect; for he, being led thereby to imagine that Raleigh had accused him of all, or more than he knew, burst out into vehement exclamations against Raleigh; and in his rage, or madness, made the following confession: That, having a passport to go to the Spanish king, he intended first to confer with the archduke; and, because he knew he had not money to pay his own army, meant from thence to go to Spain, to deal with the king for six hundred thousand crowns; then to return by Jersey; and that nothing should be done about the distribution of that money to the discontented in England, till he had spoken with sir Walter Raleigh; further, that he had never entered into these courses, but by his instigation; he speaks also of plots, but of the particulars could give no account; yet acknowledged that he was afraid that Raleigh, upon his return to Jersey, would have him and the money to the king.

After all this, before Cobham departed to the stair-foot, he retracted his confession, and professed he had done Raleigh wrong: nor does it appear, says my author, that he did subscribe it.

In another branch of his examination, Cobham said he had of Raleigh a book, written against the king's title, which he gave to his brother Brook, and that Raleigh said it was foolishly-written: but this he also retracted, as we shall hear. Upon this,
and

and other parts of his confession more foreign to Raleigh, concerning the advancement of lady Arabella Stuart to the crown, as also from that of George Brook, a known enemy to Raleigh, as Cecyl could not deny; asserting his brother Cobham told him (though Cobham, in his confession, refused to own it) the lord Grey and others were only on the bye, but he and Raleigh were on the main; "thereby meaning," said Brook, "the taking away of the king and his issue;" together with what Raleigh acknowledged in his own examination, That Cobham offered him eight thousand crowns for his furtherance of the peace, though the lord Cecyl and earl of Northumberland were to have the same proffers; and that in some discourses he might have said, The way to invade England was to begin with stirs in Scotland.

Upon these circumstances, Raleigh was indicted at Stanes on the twenty-first of September following; and from hence that heavy indictment appears to have been accumulated upon him, which we see prefixed to his trial. Three days after Cobham and Grey were also indicted at the same place; and, not long after this, they were all three returned prisoners to the Tower of London.

When the time of their trial drew nigh, that is to say in the beginning of November, Raleigh got a poor fellow in the Tower to cast up a letter, fastened to an apple, in at Cobham's window, while the lieutenant was at supper, to intreat him (because he knew not but Cobham might be arraigned before him) for God's sake, to do him justice by his answer, and signify to him, that he had wronged him in his accusation: and Cobham did, by an answer under his hand, confess the same; which not being so full and expressive as Raleigh expected, he afterwards sent Cobham another letter, desiring

he would publish his innocence at his arraignment: but, notwithstanding Raleigh did not now request any further justification under his hand, Cobham sent him another answer, clearing him in the most solemn and perfect manner, as will presently appear.

Now, by reason of the plague, which raged so violently in and about London, the term having been proclaimed to be held at Winchester, the state prisoners, who were thus indicted for the plot, were conveyed thither in great pomp. We find that Raleigh went in his own coach, under the custody of sir Robert Mansell, on the tenth of November, to Bagshot in Surry, twenty-four miles from London; and, two days after, from thence, the other thirty miles, to the castle at Winchester. The conspirators conducted thither at the same time, were George Brook, under the charge of sir William Wade; sir Griffin Markham, under sir Robert Worth; besides sir Edward Parham, Bartholomew Brooksby, Anthony Copley; also William Watson and William Clark, two priests, under-wardens of the Tower, and the keeper of the Gate-house, together with a guard of fifty light-horse. As for Cobham and Grey, they set out six days, and arrived three days, before at the said castle, under the like guard.

And here Cobham having been prevailed on to make fresh accusations in a letter to the lords, at least subscribed with his name, which will be produced a little further, Raleigh's trial was first brought on; and this was on the seventeenth of the month aforesaid. He excepted not against his jury, being all strangers: but we are told by one who seems to have had good intelligence of this matter, That there was appointed for Raleigh another jury, the foreman of which was sir Michael Stanhope, the next sir William Darcy, the next sir Edward

Edward Killegrew, all men of honour, and near servants to the late queen : but these being found not for their turn, they were all changed over night, and those others (named in the common printed trial) put in their places.

After the indictment had been opened and aggravated, serjeant Heath and attorney Coke, in speeches manifestly fathering the treasons of the rest upon Raleigh for no other reason but because he was a man of wit and a warrior, Cobham's examination was read as before quoted. Here Raleigh first shewed the unreasonableness and improbability of the accusation therein against him, as follows :

“ It is strange for me,” said he, “ to devise with
 “ Cobham, that he should go to Spain to persuade
 “ the king to disburse so much money, he being a
 “ man of no love in England ; and I having re-
 “ signed my room of chiefest command, the war-
 “ denship of the stannaries ; it is strange for me to
 “ make myself a Robin Hood, or a Ket, or a Cade,
 “ I knowing England to be in a better state than
 “ ever it was. I knew Scotland united, Ireland
 “ quieted, Denmark assured, which before was
 “ suspected. I knew, that having a lady, whom
 “ Time had surpris'd, we had now a lawful suc-
 “ cessor. The state of Spain was not unknown to
 “ me. I had written a discourse, which I intended
 “ to present unto the king against the peace with
 “ Spain. I knew the Spaniard had six repulses,
 “ three in Ireland and three at sea ; and once, in
 “ 1588, by my lord-admiral also at Cadiz. I knew
 “ he was discharged and dishonoured. I knew the
 “ king of Spain to be the proudest prince living,
 “ but now he comes creeping to my master for a
 “ peace. I knew, whereas he had before in his
 “ ports six or seven score sail of ships, he has now
 “ but six or seven. I knew of twenty-five millions

“ he had from his Indies, he has scarce one left.
 “ I knew him so poor, that the jesuits in Spain
 “ were fain to beg at the church-door.

“ Was it ever read, or heard, that any prince
 “ should disburse so much money without a suffi-
 “ cient pawn? I knew her own subjects, the ci-
 “ tizens of London, would not lend her majesty
 “ money, without lands in mortgage. I knew the
 “ queen did not lend the states money without
 “ Flushing, Brill, and other towns, for a security;
 “ and can it be thought he would let Cobham have
 “ so great a sum?

“ I never came to the lord Cobham's but about
 “ matters of his profit, as the ordering of his
 “ house; and I had of his, when I was examin'd,
 “ four thousand pounds worth of jewels for a pur-
 “ chase, a pearl of three thousand pounds, and a
 “ ring worth five hundred pounds. If he had had
 “ a fancy to run away, he would not have left so
 “ much money to purchase a lease in Fee-farm.
 “ I saw him buy three hundred pounds worth of
 “ books to send to his library at Canterbury,
 “ and a cabinet of three hundred pounds to give
 “ Mr. Attorney for drawing the conveyances; and
 “ God in Heaven knows, not I, whether, he
 “ intended to travel: but, for the practice with
 “ Arabella, or letters to Aremberg, or any dis-
 “ course with him, or in what language he spake
 “ unto him; if I knew any of these things, I would
 “ absolutely confess the indictments, and acknow-
 “ ledge myself worthy of a thousand deaths.”

And a little further, concerning Cobham's exa-
 mination: “ He that hath been examined, has
 “ ever been asked if it be according to his mean-
 “ ing, and then to subscribe. Methinks, my
 “ lords, when he accuses a man, he should give
 “ some account and reason of it; it is not sufficient
 “ to

“ to say we talked of it. If I had been the plotter,
 “ would not I have given Cobham some arguments
 “ whereby to persuade the king of Spain, and an-
 “ swer his objections? I knew Westmoreland and
 “ Bothwell, men of other understandings than Cob-
 “ ham, were ready to beg their bread.”

Here being obstructed by other matters, the attorney fell into that passage of Cobham's telling Brook,
 “ You are on the bye, Raleigh and I are on the
 “ the main.” But Cobham would not confirm his ever having said such words. Brook, who had pretended he did say them, was allowed to have been Raleigh's enemy; so the expression was not proved.

Another matter they insisted much upon, was the book Cobham said he had of Raleigh, written against the king's title: This was nothing more than, A Defence of the Queen's Proceedings against Mary, queen of Scotland, written by one Robert Snag, a lawyer, and found by Raleigh in the library of the late lord-treasurer Burleigh, which he had liberty of searching for some geographical descriptions of the West-Indies. Raleigh had declared to Cobham that it was foolishly written, but denied that he gave it him; and though Cobham, in his examination, said it was given him by Raleigh, he revoked that confession upon being further questioned about it, as one of the lords of the council owned; and said, The truth was, he took the same of himself out of sir Walter Raleigh's study when he was asleep.----So much to be depended on were lord Cobham's accusations. But there was nothing acted thereby to the king's prejudice, for the book was burnt.

As for the evidence of a rumour in Lisbon, brought into court by one Dyer, a pilot, who an-

swering a question, When the king would be crowned? made by somebody or other there, That he hoped it would be shortly; was told again, It should never be; for don Raleigh and don Cobham would cut his throat first: Raleigh made light of it, as of such a rumour and such a witness he might; and said, If Cobham had practice with Aremberg, it might be well known abroad: and, that the duke of Buckingham was named with Jack Straw's treason to countenance it. But none of these little circumstances were much insisted on; and we are told by one who was present, That, touching the setting up of Arabella, nothing at all was proved; nor touching the invasion here, or sedition in Scotland, or even the destruction of the king, &c.

“The proof against Raleigh,” as the same writer continues a little further, “did rest only upon Cobham's accusation, and some presumptions, whereof that only was the ground; therefore Raleigh spent most of the time in disabling that accusation, as being only uttered in fury and passion;” through the device aforesaid of making Cobham believe that Raleigh had first accused him. Besides, that he had renounced and repented it; and although “afterwards by practice,” says my author, “he did affirm it, yet would he never be brought to set his hand to the examination; all which was clear.”

Then Raleigh, seeing this retraction so unjustly overlooked, “laboured to prove these two points out of scripture, civil law, statute law, common law, and conscience; in every of which he had been plentifully read,” as the same auditor of his arraignment goes on, “first, that there ought to be produced against him two witnesses; secondly, that his accuser might be brought to accuse him
“face

“ face to face.” Agreeable hereto are Raleigh’s own words, after he had urged the statutes of Edward III. Edward VI. and queen Elizabeth ; produced the opinions of judges in the law, and precedents from their writings ; besides testimonies from the Old and New Testament ; where he says, “ If by the statute, civil law, and God’s word, it “ be required that there must be two witnesses at “ least, bear with me, if I desire but one.” But truly it was an unreasonable request ; those statutes were repealed, and the law would not allow of it now ; though we are informed that king James himself, taking notice how Cobham was with-held, “ If he could have spoken any thing against Ra- “ legh, they would have brought him from Con- “ stantinople to have accused him. Well therefore might he desire the jury to consider, “ There is no “ cause so doubtful, which the king’s council can- “ not make good against the law. These men do “ usually defend bad causes every day against men “ of their own profession, and as able as them- “ selves : if they can do so, what may they not do “ with me, who never studied law till I came into “ the Tower of London, who have been practised “ in other affairs ; am weak of memory, and feeble, “ as you see ?” for he was fain to have a pen and ink to help him in the long speeches that were made against him.

Then said he more closely to them, “ If you “ would be content to be judged upon suspicions “ and inferences ; if you would not have your ac- “ cusation subscribed by your accuser ; if you would “ not have your accuser brought to your face (be- “ ing in the same house too) where you are ar- “ raigned ; if you would be condemned by an ac- “ cusation of one that has recanted, and is truly

“ sorrowful for it ; if you, in my case, would yield
 “ your bodies to torture, lose your lives, your
 “ wives and children, and all your fortunes, upon
 “ so slender a proof ; then am I ready to suffer all
 “ these things ;” or, as the common trial has it,
 “ if you would be contented to be so judged,
 “ judge so of me.”

Now, though Raleigh at last put himself on it, that if Cobham would only speak before God and the king, That ever he knew either of Arabella’s matter, or the money out of Spain, or of the surprising treason, or would accuse him with things equivalent, in any main point, or any ways to have been an instigator of him to deal with the king of Spain ; yet would they not let Cobham confront him, or give his testimony *viva voce* ; and, though Raleigh did not directly consent to be determined by Cobham’s accusation, if they should now produce it justified under his hand ; yet he was forced to submit to what they had in reserve of this kind, which was the letter above-mentioned, written to the lords at Winchester the day before the trial.

Some say this letter was not written by Cobham himself ; but that sir William Wade, one of Cecyl’s creatures, tampering with his weakness, got Cobham to write his name to a blank ; to which Wade no doubt wrote the accusation. Others imply, that Cobham did himself write it ; though, after he was instructed by a letter from his lady, that there was no way to save his own life but to accuse Raleigh ; and that it was so reported upon the going together of the jury. This letter was read with great triumph and exultation by Coke, as follows :

I HAVE thought it fit to set down this to my
 “ lords, wherein I profess on my soul to write no-
 “ thing

“ thing but the truth. I am come now near to
 “ the period of my time ; therefore I confess the
 “ truth before God and his angels.

“ Raleigh, four days before I came from the
 “ Tower, caused an apple to be thrown in at my
 “ chamber-window : the effect of it was, to en-
 “ treat me to right the wrong I had done him, in
 “ saying I would come home by Jersey ; which
 “ under my hand to him I have retracted. His
 “ first letter was thrown in the same manner,
 “ wherein he prayed me to write him a letter,
 “ which I did. He sent me word the judges met
 “ at Mr. attorney’s house ; and that there was good
 “ hope the proceedings against us should be staid.
 “ He sent me another time a little tobacco.

“ At Aremberg’s coming, Raleigh dealt with me
 “ to procure him a pension of fifteen hundred
 “ pounds a year ; for which he promised that no
 “ action should be against Spain, but he would give
 “ knowledge before hand. He told me the states
 “ had audience with the king. He hath been the
 “ original cause of my ruin ; for I had no dealing
 “ with Aremberg, but by his instigation. He hath
 “ been the cause of my discontentments ; he ad-
 “ vised me not to be overtaken with preachers, as
 “ Essex was ; and that the king would better al-
 “ low of a constant denial, than to accuse any.”

But this advice to a denial, and by that exam-
 ple, and the desire of any such pension from Spain,
 Raleigh protested to be false. And further, to
 shew them what a base dishonourable recreant Cob-
 ham was, he pulled out the letter which Cobham
 a few days before wrote to him voluntarily in the
 Tower, desiring the lord Cecyl to read it, because
 he knew his hand ; and that the jury would observe
 if

if Cobham's testimony were of any credit with them, how much more solemnly it was writ to clear, than the other to condemn him; being in these words:

“ SEEING myself so near my end; for the
 “ discharge of my own conscience, and freeing my-
 “ self from your blood, which else will cry venge-
 “ ance against me; I protest, upon my salvation,
 “ I never practised with Spain by your procure-
 “ ment; God so comfort me in this my affliction,
 “ as you are a true subject for any thing that I
 “ know. I will say with Daniel, *Purus sum a san-*
 “ *guine hujus*: So God have mercy on my soul,
 “ as I know no treason by you.”

This was the last evidence given; yet the jury brought in their verdict guilty. This letter, last produced to acquit Raleigh, not prevailing with them so much, it seems, as the letter before, which was last, though less forcibly, written by Cobham to accuse him; “ which, all things con-
 “ sidered,” says the person who heard the whole trial, “ was no more to be weighed than the bark-
 “ ing of a dog; and I would not,” continues he, “ for much, to have been of the jury, to have
 “ found him guilty.”

“ Some of this jury,” we are further told, “ were,
 “ after he was cast, so far touched in conscience,
 “ as to demand of him pardon on their knees; and
 “ even Coke, the attorney himself, being retired
 “ into a garden to take some air, when his man
 “ brought him word that the jury had condemned
 “ Raleigh of treason, answered, Surely thou art
 “ mistaken, for I myself accused him but of mis-
 “ prision of treason; and this relation, upon the
 “ word of a Christian, I have received,” says this
 author, “ from sir Edward Coke's own mouth.”

Sentence

Sentence being given, Raleigh humbly desired the king might know the proofs against him; that he still persisted in his loyalty, notwithstanding that verdict; which he prayed that his said jury might never answer for; and only craved pardon for concealing lord Cobham's offer to him, which he did through a confidence that he had diverted him from those humours: so accompanied the sheriff to prison "with admirable resolution, yet in such fort as a condemned man should do."

Thus was he tired out of his life, as an eminent author observes, by the cavilling of the king's counsel on one side, and the Bench's insisting on a confession, extorted from the lord Cobham out of fear, on the other, rather than convicted. In this manner did his adversaries reap dishonour and reproach in their victory, while he received triumphant applauses in his overthrow; like some flowers which are sweeter in their fall than others in their bloom.

One of his auditors says, "He behaved himself so worthily, so wisely, so temperately, that in half a day the mind of all the company was changed from the extremest hate to the extremest pity." And another says, that "Sir Walter Raleigh's carriage was most remarkable; first, to the lords, humble, yet not prostrate; towards the jury, affable, but not fawning, rather shewing love of life than fear of death; towards the king's counsel, patient, but not insensibly neglecting, and not yielding to imputations laid against him in words: and it was wondered, that a man of his heroic spirit, could be so valiant in suffering, that he was never overtaken in passion, &c."

On the other side, as to Coke's behaviour, we shall thus account for it; that, if Essex was known
to

to have ever been in any wise a friend or patron to him, as it appears he was in a private memorial of an honourable person, who was of the same college in Oxford with Raleigh, and almost of the same standing; then Coke might perhaps think of retrieving himself in the eye of the world, and making attonement for his ingratitude to the said earl at his trial, and to his memory after his death, by his inhumanity to one of the contrary faction.

Cecyl, on the other side, played a smooth edge upon Raleigh throughout the trial: his blade seemed ever anointed with the soft phrase of speech, whereby he gave not such rough and painful wounds, though they were as deep and fatal as the other. But Raleigh could distinguish between dissembled friendship on one side, as well as affected wisdom on another.

That Raleigh expected nothing less than this kind of treatment, is plain by the letter which he wrote to the king himself immediately before his trial; wherein he says,

“ I know that, among many presumptions gathered against me, your majesty has been persuaded, that I was one of those who were greatly discontented, and therefore the more likely to prove disloyal; but the great God of heaven and earth disclaim me from both worlds, if I were not the contrary, and if I took not great comfort to behold your majesty always learning some good, and bettering my knowledge by your majesty’s discourse.” He adds a little further, “ For my part, I protest, before the ever living God, that I never intended treason, consented to treason, or performed treason against you; and yet I know I shall fall into their hands, è quibus non possum evadere, unless by your majesty’s gracious compassion I be sustained.”

In

In other letters to the lords, speaking of the two principal accusations against him, he says,
 “ The first was, that money was offered me with
 “ a pretence to maintain the amity, but the in-
 “ tent was to have assisted his majesty’s surprize :
 “ the other, that I was privy to my lord Cobham’s
 “ Spanish journey.

“ For the first, it seems, this money was offered
 “ to others long after it was offered to me, and
 “ upon other considerations than it was to me.
 “ For myself, I avow, upon my allegiance, that I
 “ never knew or suspected either the man or the
 “ new invention. To me it was but once propound-
 “ ed, and in three weeks after I never heard more
 “ of it ; neither did I believe that he had any
 “ commission to offer it ; for, if that word Amity
 “ had been used to me colourably, I must have
 “ been also made acquainted with the true end for
 “ which it should have been given ; which it seems
 “ was for the surprize : but of any such horrible
 “ purpose, if ever I had so much as a suspicion, I
 “ refuse your lordship’s favour, and the king’s
 “ mercy. I know your lordships have omitted
 “ nothing to find out the truth ; but, as you have
 “ not erred, like ill surgeons, to lay on plaisters
 “ too narrow for so great wounds, so I trust that
 “ you will not imitate unlearned physicians, to
 “ give medicines more cruel than the disease it-
 “ self. For the journey into Spain, I know I was
 “ accused to be privy thereto ; but I know your
 “ lordships have a reputation of conscience, as
 “ well as industry. By what means that revenge-
 “ ful accusation was stirred, you, my lord Cecyl,
 “ know right well, that it was my letter about
 “ Keymis ; and your lordships all know whether
 “ it be maintained, or whether, out of truth, and
 “ out of a Christian consideration, it be revoked.”

A little

A little further he says, “ God knows, and I
 “ can give an account of it, that I have spent forty
 “ thousand pounds of my own against that king
 “ and nation; that I never reserved so much of all
 “ my fortunes, as to purchase forty pounds per
 “ annum land; that I have been a violent profe-
 “ cutor and furtherer of all enterprizes against that
 “ nation: I have served against them in person;
 “ and how, my lord admiral, and my lord of Suf-
 “ folk can witness. I discovered, myself, the
 “ richest part of all his Indies; I have planted in
 “ his territories: I offered his majesty, at my
 “ uncle Carew’s, to carry two thousand men to
 “ invade him without the king’s charge. Alas!
 “ to what end should we live in the world, if all
 “ the endeavours of so many testimonies should be
 “ blown off with one blast of breath, or be pre-
 “ sented by one man’s word. Think therefore, I
 “ beseech you, on my great affliction with com-
 “ passion; who lost my estate, and the king’s fa-
 “ vour, upon one man’s word; and, as you would
 “ that God should deal with you, deal with me.”

He concludes in this manner: “ Your lord-
 “ ships know, that I am guiltless of the surprize
 “ intended; you know, or may know, that I
 “ never accepted of the money, and that it was
 “ not offered me for any ill; and of the Spanish
 “ journey, I trust your consciences are resolved.
 “ Keep not then, I beseech you, these my an-
 “ swers and humble desires from my sovereign
 “ lord, *Qui est rex pius & misericors, & non leo*
 “ *coronatus.*”

In another letter to the king after his trial, he
 has these words: “ Lost I am for hearing a vain
 “ man, for hearing only, and never believing or
 “ approving; and so little account I made of that
 “ speech of his, which was my condemnation,
 “ that

“ that I never remembered any such thing, till it
 “ was at my trial objected against me ;” and nobly
 concludes, with a desire only to repay a lent life
 in love and affection equal to the goodness where-
 with his majesty should please to bestow it.

If these letters had any good effect, it appeared
 not immediately, Raleigh being kept near a month
 at Winchester after he was condemned, in daily ex-
 pectation of death. We find, that when the re-
 port of the arraignments was made to the king in
 his Privy-chamber at Wilton, he behaved so re-
 servedly, that no body could guess how well he
 was satisfied with the equality of condemnation,
 till he made himself a difference in the punish-
 ment.

The two priests were executed on the twenty-
 ninth of November, and George Brook on the
 fifth of December following. His majesty also
 signed warrants for Cobham, Grey, and Mark-
 ham, to be beheaded on the ninth day of the said
 month. This might be owing to the extraordi-
 nary disappointment of that confession which was
 expected from one of the three next to be exe-
 cuted ; for the time being come, Markham was
 first brought to the scaffold ; and, having ended
 his speech and prayers, with all he had to say, be-
 ing on his knees, ready to receive the stroke of
 the axe, John Gibb, groom of the king’s bed-
 chamber, sent up to sir Benjamin Tichbourne,
 the sheriff of Hampshire, with his majesty’s war-
 rant, to stay the execution ; and Markham was
 told he must withdraw awhile into the hall, to be
 confronted by the lords. Then lord Grey was
 brought upon the stage ; and he is said to have
 poured out his prayers and his confession, though
 not one word of them are to be found upon record,
 who was also called aside.

Lastly,

Lastly, Cobham was brought, and exposed in the same manner; and his devotions to God are mentioned; but not a word of the treason, his guilt or innocence, or concerning any promoter of his disloyalty or discontent. When he had done, the sheriff unravelled the plot, by proclaiming and magnifying his majesty's mercy, as we have it in the same author, who cannot forbear comparing his own relation to a comedy, "representing so
 " many lively figures of justice and mercy in a
 " king, of terror and penitence in offenders, and
 " of so great admiration and applause in all others,
 " as appeared in this action, carried on only and
 " wholly by his majesty's own direction." In short, the whole proceeding is so full of inconsistencies, flanders, and such like odious effects of a false and malicious prosecution, that we may well conclude with that historian, who says, "the king had
 " ground enough to shew mercy, which some of
 " the condemned party obtained."

But Raleigh, it seems, did last taste it, and for no other apparent reason, but because he was the only one whom his enemies still wanted matter to exclude from it; as may be gathered from Cecyl, who wrote to a correspondent three days after the king's warrant of suspence, to the others before mentioned; where, among these wonderful instances of his majesty's clemency, we are told,
 " He pretended to forbear sir Walter Raleigh for
 " the present, till the lord Cobham's death had
 " given some light how far he would make good
 " his accusation:" and, though we hear not that
 " he ever did make it good, yet was the pretended
 time of Raleigh's execution so determined, however we find not, that he, like the rest, was ever brought to the place; that he wrote, what he intended for his last words, to his wife, the night
 before

before he expected to be put to death, in a very moving letter, full of the most generous acknowledgments, of the wisest, most religious and affectionate advice to her, no less than the most heroic and magnanimous accents in regard to himself, and to that suffering which the vulgar so naturally shrink at.

It is too long to recite in this place, and may be easily met with in his works. The historical passages in it acquaint us, that his lands were conveyed to his son; that he intended his wife the profits of his wine-office, half his goods, and all his jewels, except some one to his son; that Baily owed him two hundred, or as other editions have it, one thousand pounds; and his brother Adrian Gilbert six hundred; that he had also much money owing him in Jersey, besides the arrearages of the wines, which would pay all his debts. Towards the conclusion, he intreats her “to get those letters, if it be possible, which I writ, said he, to the lords, wherein I sued for my life. God is my witness, that it was for you and yours that I desired life. But, it is true, that I disdain myself for begging it; for know it, dear wife, that your son is the son of a true man, and one, who, in his own respect, despises death, and all his mishapen and ugly forms.”

But, after all this usage, Cobham never confirming his accusation of sir Walter Raleigh, they both were, with the rest of the prisoners, returned, on the fifteenth of December, to the Tower of London: those, of whom the least profit was to be made, were either acquitted, or afterwards got their liberty; among whom was Markham, who travelled abroad, but endured greater distress in his state of freedom, than he had in his restraint. Grey, it seems, died in the Tower;

and Cobham was in a worse condition, for he would have starved there, being almost fleeced, by the court beggars, of his great estate, had they not also laid thereby a kind of a fine upon his majesty for his offences; the crown being imposed upon to support him in his many years confinement, as Raleigh himself has sufficiently discovered. And here, to close what remains of this lord relating to our present history, we may observe, that some years after their confinement, Raleigh is said to have himself procured a re-examination of Cobham, and to have been absolutely cleared by him.

But the practices which were used against him therein, are represented so foul and wicked, as to have given some, whose interest it was to favour the administrations of these times, occasion to suspect the assertion; though it is corroborated by several material circumstances, as well as the testimony of coeval writers.

But, to return to more early passages in Raleigh's imprisonment, and to consider his state, as it appears at his entrance therein, we may very easily believe, he was at first in very great trouble to be so suddenly, and in such a manner, deprived of power, fortune, liberty, and reputation; but find nothing to confirm the extraordinary dejection one writer describes him under; where he says, "In
 " the public joy and jubilee of the whole realm,
 " when favour, peace, and pardon were offered
 " even to offenders; he, who in wit, in wealth,
 " in courage, was inferior to few, fell suddenly
 " into such a downfall of despair, that his greatest
 " enemies would not have wished him so much
 " harm, as he would have done himself;" for we have seen he had enemies, who would have done him the injury that could not be exceeded, had
 not

not the king, in some degree of justice, rather than mercy to him, interposed, and secured him, as well from being quite destroyed by, as taking revenge on them: besides, that letter to his wife before-mentioned, when his fate appeared nearest and most unavoidable to him, demonstrates the firmness and fortitude of a man, who could receive death as an acquaintance, rather than a stranger; or one, who, having so often gone to face him among the foes to his country abroad, could, with equal steadiness and composure of mind, meet him from those at home. Indeed, the affairs of a person, who had such various and extensive dealings, or commerce with mankind, could not but be somewhat perplexed and embarrassed, upon a fall so sudden and unexpected; therefore, to find him employing agents for collecting in debts, and satisfying creditors, is to be expected.

Thus, in one of his letters to sir Michael Hext, he desires him to spare John Shellbury for a little time, he being bound for him in a sum of fifteen hundred pounds; and, if he was restrained, so that he could not recover the wine arrearages, which (as we find from Raleigh's letter before to his wife) would clear all his debts, they must remain unpaid. The date endorsed upon this letter, probably by sir Michael himself, in November 12, 1604.

In the middle of February following, we find a grant made by the king, to that John Shellbury and another person, to this effect: "That sir Walter Raleigh, late of Sherborne, &c. being attainted of high-treason, whereby all his goods and chattels, real and personal, moveable and immoveable; debts, duties, sums of money, bonds, &c. are forfeited. His majesty therefore, in consideration that the said debts, which sir

“ Walter Raleigh did truly owe before the said at-
 “ tainder and conviction, may be justly and truly
 “ paid; as also, for the help and maintenance of
 “ dame Elizabeth his wife, his child and family;
 “ and for other considerations, grants to John
 “ Shellbury and Robert Smith of London, gen-
 “ tlemen, all the said goods, &c.”

Thus we see a great distinction made already between him and Cobham, and shall find more favour extending towards him in a little while. 'Tis said to be much owing to the earnest and unwearied intercessions of his lady at court, who, that she might be more serviceable to him, soon after he was committed to the Tower, petitioned the king that she might be a prisoner with her husband, or live with him there in his confinement; and her request was granted. Here, manifestly after the grant aforesaid to Raleigh's trustees, because that mentions but one of his sons, she was delivered of the other, and he was christened Carew, who was yet born, as authors compute, within the year above-mentioned.

To this satisfaction, Raleigh had others afterwards, which greatly alleviated the loss of his liberty; so that his restraint, which was intended as a mortification, his prudence in time so converted, that it proved only a retirement, or the quiet enjoyment of a domestic life; and he felt certain comforts arise from the constant company of his little family, which, in the pomp of courts, the pride of conquests, the glory of discoveries, and the sweetness of freedom itself, he had never tasted. But this tranquillity appears not to have suddenly arrived, being for a while divested of all his estate; and having some contentions at law
 with

with those who were considerably indebted to him, and could not otherwise be brought to account.

When Raleigh had got over these troublesome contests, all things appeared, for a while about him, as serene, as in such a gloomy state could be hoped for ; and he, who lately was upon the very brink of dissolution, had all his offices, lands, and goods seized upon, and was himself committed a close prisoner, had not only his life reprieved, and his confinement sweetened with some degrees of liberty, but even his estate also restored to him. For these lands were actually made over by sir Walter Raleigh to his son, both inheritance and fee, before queen Elizabeth died, as formerly was,

But this prospect was soon overcast ; for, there was a young Scotchman, named Robert Car, who, soon after the said restitution, sprang up in great favour at court ; and, having no fortune of his own, it was contrived by those who had gaped in vain for Raleigh's estate themselves, to lay the foundation of this favourite's future greatness upon his ruin ; for, being thus frustrated of the effects of sir Walter Raleigh's attainder, they pretended to find a flaw in his last conveyance of the fee and inheritance of Sherborne to his son ; and, to this purpose an information was exhibited in the Exchequer by the attorney-general Hobart, to which Raleigh put in his answer ; and therein the said grant or conveyance was set forth to be made over, as above ; yet, for want of a single word (which was found notwithstanding in the paper-book, and was only the oversight of the clerk) they pronounced the conveyance invalid, and Sherborne absolutely forfeited to the crown ; a judgment to be foreseen without witchcraft, since his chief judge was his greatest enemy, and the

case argued between a friendless prisoner and the king of England.

Then was Sherborne given to this Car, afterwards earl of Somerset. The lady Raleigh and her children earnestly petitioned the king for compassion, but could now obtain no other answer, than "he mun have the land, he mun have it for "Car." And she, a woman of high spirit, on her knees, prayed to God that he would punish those who had thus wrongfully exposed her and her children to ruin.

Not long after, Raleigh grew into high esteem with that great hope and heir to these kingdoms, prince Henry Frederic, the king's eldest son, who, being satisfied of his loyalty, and well informed of his great qualifications and experience in civil and military affairs, with his hazardous services for the honour and defence of his country, no less than the many public-spirited adventures, both to enlarge and enrich it, testified his own merits in distinguishing those of sir Walter Raleigh; and, notwithstanding the many little envious detractions of some undermining courtiers about him, encouraged his epistolary addresses to him from the Tower, and sent for his counsel or opinion upon several emergent occasions. It was, perhaps, one of the brightest actions of this prince, that he never left importuning the king with the most persuasive solicitations, that he would bestow Sherborne upon him, with full design to return it to its just owner, till his majesty at last granted his request; but by what cruel fate Raleigh's hopes were eclipsed again, and indeed those of the whole kingdom, we shall suddenly hear.

In the mean time, we must here endeavour to give such light of that intercourse which passed between the said prince Henry and sir Walter Raleigh,

legh, as those letters and discourses, which he addressed to his highness, and are extant, will afford; and first, when he found how commendably the prince was inclined to the studies of navigation; how much delighted he was with a view of the fleet at Chatham: how inquisitive, or desirous to inform himself, by consultation with the most experienced commanders, in the knowledge of building ships most artfully, fitting them out most commodiously, sailing them most dexterously, and fighting with them most successfully, in order to execute those great designs he had upon the West-Indies and Spain itself, whenever its king should give cause of public hostility. Raleigh composed and communicated to his highness several treatises upon these subjects.

There is nothing in these treatises which shew Raleigh any ways concerned in writing those propositions or arguments for foreign wars, which were delivered to prince Henry by some of his military servants, and which were afterwards abstractedly published, together with an answer at large, written, very conformable to the taste of king James, by the learned sir Robert Cotton; though to the first edition of this treatise, the bookseller, having prefixed sir Walter Raleigh's picture, have misled some writers of his life, carelessly to insert this book into the catalogue of his writings.

But Raleigh's pen was soon engaged upon a different subject in the prince's service, and by his command: for, the first overtures of a marriage between this prince and the eldest daughter of Spain being put off, the like motion was now made by the Savoyan ambassador, not only for a marriage between prince Henry and a daughter of the duke of Savoy, but for another, of his son Don

Phillibert, prince of Piedmont, with princess Elizabeth, the daughter of England.

Raleigh wrote two discourses upon this occasion ; and that he particularly was requested by the prince to give his opinion of the said offers, appears in his introduction to the first of those discourses, inscribed to some minister of state about his highness ; in which Raleigh has so notably discovered what a tool for “ avarice and ambition “ most of the catholic princes in Europe had made “ of this sacrament of matrimony ; and how notoriously the Castilians, with those of whom these “ princes are descended, have gotten no less by “ traffick of their marriages, than they have done “ by the trade of their Indies.” It seems surprising, that these excellent political discourses were never made public, for the instruction of our succeeding princes upon this topic. The second of them, upon the match for prince Henry, is treated under eight heads : and, in the fourth page of it, Raleigh has these words : “ There is a “ kind of noble and royal deceiving in marriages “ between great kings and princes ; yea, it is, of “ of all others, the fairest and most unsuspected “ kind of betraying : it has been as ordinary among them to adventure or cast away a daughter to bring some purpose to pass, as at other “ times, for saving of charges, to make them “ nuns.”

A little farther, having represented the duke of Savoy so tied to the see of Rome, both by religion and interest, that he could no more be separated and subsist, than if his soul was divided from his body, he goes on thus more directly, concerning the marriages. “ What then remains of profit “ to our prince by this alliance ? a sum of money, “ and a beautiful lady. For beauty (says he) it “ was

“ was never more cheap in any age ; and it is ever
 “ better loved in the hope, than when it is had :
 “ for the million of crowns offered, which makes
 “ but two of our subsidies, I speak it confidently ;
 “ that when those dukes, lords, and great ladies,
 “ who will attend the princess in her passage hi-
 “ ther, shall be all presented with gifts according
 “ to their degrees and the king’s honour ; when
 “ the preparations, triumphs, and feastings are
 “ paid for, there will nothing remain but a great
 “ encrease of charge, and perchance, a great deal
 “ of melancholy.

In his other discourse, on the match that was
 offered for the accomplished lady Elizabeth, that
 prince’s sister, having copiously exemplified, as we
 “ have observed, what mercenary sacrifices had
 “ been made, by crowned heads, of their chil-
 “ dren, in this grand market of matrimony ; and
 answered the objections he foresaw some courtiers,
 devoted to Spain, might make, that seeing the
 kings of France, and especially of Spain, had so
 often matched themselves with the dukes of Savoy,
 why should not the king of England also accept of
 their alliance ?

He proceeds to examine what encrease of ho-
 nour and dignity, or what great comfort or con-
 tentment this excellent young princess could ex-
 pect or hope for by this match ? “ For the first,
 “ to wit, honour and dignity (says he) as she is
 “ born the eldest, and now only daughter of one
 “ of the mightiest kings of Christendom, so is
 “ she thereby of higher place and state, than the
 “ wife of a duke of Savoy. Besides, in her birth
 “ and blood, both of father and mother, descend-
 “ ed of such royal races, as Savoy cannot add any
 “ greater grace or glory to ; and by nature and
 “ education endued with such princely perfections,
 “ both

“ both of body and mind, as may well deserve to
“ be reputed a worthy spouse for the greatest mo-
“ narch of Christendom, especially considering
“ the possibilities of a daughter of England, where-
“ of we had many precedents; and, at this time,
“ is happily manifested in the king’s majesty, our
“ sovereign, being descended of a daughter of
“ England; whereby the whole island, formerly
“ divided, is again now made one Great-Britain,
“ to the mutual strength of either. Now, to con-
“ fer the possibility of such a fortune upon a poor
“ popish duke of Savoy, that can return no re-
“ compence of benefit to this state, were greatly
“ for his glory, though little for the advancement
“ of this noble princess, and less for the safety of
“ this kingdom, considering the dangers that it
“ may draw upon our worthy and magnanimous
“ prince and the noble duke of York, if the am-
“ bition of this match should tickle the Savoyan
“ to look after possibilities, wherein they would
“ want neither means, persuasions, nor pardons
“ from Rome, to practise any villany in that be-
“ half, whereby to benefit or strengthen an appen-
“ dix of Spain, and so devoted a son to the Ro-
“ mish see.

“ For the second, namely, the comfort and
“ contentment of this worthy young lady by this
“ match, as there is little in appearance presently,
“ so there is less to be hoped for in the future.
“ For, at first, she must be removed far from her
“ nearest blood, both by father and mother, in a
“ country far estranged from our nation, as any
“ part of Christendom, and as far differing from
“ us in religion, as in climate. And, what true
“ correspondence, or matrimonial affection, there
“ can be maintained between those persons, whose
“ minds are different, and opposite in the religious
“ points

"pointe of their Christian faith, is greatly to be
 "doubted. Moreover, it is greatly to be feared,
 "with what safety and security she can long live
 "free from secret practices and treacheries, in a
 "country so near the pope's jurisdiction, environ'd
 "with the plots of the jesuits, who, we see, do
 "daily traffick the lives and fortunes of all princes
 "who are not wholly devoted to the Romish obe-
 "dience; and therefore, how they will entertain
 "or tolerate the race of our king, were too great
 "an error and presumption to trust so it: so, as
 "when the worthy lady, hereafter by her chil-
 "dren, or otherwise, has furnished their desire,
 "and fully served their turn, she shall be then ei-
 "ther forced to wound her conscience, by forsaking
 "her faith, or else to undergo the scorns and danger
 "which shall be daily cast upon her and her family,
 "for the exercise of her religion. And this also we
 "may be well assured of, that, if she shall have
 "any issue by the prince of Piedmont, they must
 "all be bred and brought up contrary to her
 "conscience, which can be no small grief to a vir-
 "tuous and natural mother, and as little comfort
 "to our just religious king, their grandfather.

"Lastly, the very binding cause of amity be-
 "tween all kings, princes, and states, in their
 "trade and intercourse of their subjects. Now,
 "there is not any prince or state of Europe, the
 "inland countries of Hungary and Transilvania
 "excepted, but the English have trade withal;
 "yea, even with the Turk, Barbarian, Persian,
 "and Indians; only with the subjects of Savoy, I
 "do not know that we have any meddling or in-
 "terchange at all: for the duke has no port, his
 "ditch of Villa-franca excepted, which is only
 "capable of a few galleys, either to furnish ships
 "from

“ from, or to receive them, being strangers. And
 “ therefore for his majesty of England to match
 “ his eldest and only daughter with a prince, who
 “ has his dependance on other kings; a prince
 “ jesuited, who can neither head us in time of
 “ war, nor trade with us in time of peace; a
 “ prince, by the situation of his country, every
 “ way unprofitable to us; and that, no less peri-
 “ cious for his majesty’s daughter to live in: I re-
 “ solve myself, that he is of too excellent a judg-
 “ ment ever to accept of it, and his honourable
 “ council too wise and provident to advise the pro-
 “ secution thereof.

“ Now, if his highness should be pleased to ask
 “ my opinion, with what Christian prince he should
 “ match his sister, were it in his own power and
 “ choice to make election, I humbly desire to be
 “ excused herein; for, would it be become me to
 “ presume so far? It is true, I have heard it, that
 “ some overtures have been made for the prince
 “ palatine of the Rhine; certainly he is as well
 “ born as the duke of Savoy, and as free a prince
 “ as he is. The nation is faithful; he is of our
 “ religion, and by him we shall greatly fasten un-
 “ to us the Netherlands: and, for the little judg-
 “ ment which God has given me, I do prize the
 “ alliance of the palatine of the Rhine, and of the
 “ house of Nassau, more than I do the alliance of
 “ ten dukes of Savoy.” Thus ends his discourse
 on the marriage of princess Elizabeth.

What followed was, that about a twelvemonth
 after the writing of those discourses, the princess
 was married to Frederic, elector palatine of the
 Rhine, afterwards king of Bohemia; a match
 which might have well answered all the advan-
 tages expected from it, at least, one that had
 never been attended with such a series of calami-
 ties,

ties, were king James to have been moved, if not through honour and power, as a sovereign, yet through nature and affection, as a father, to have granted them a seasonable supply against their enemies.

As for the prince of Wales, he is said to have first encouraged the prince elector to attempt his sister; desiring more to head an army in Germany, than he durst make shew of, and would, no doubt, have been bravely followed: but alas! that fate, which so often suffers the unworthy to flourish, deprived this kingdom of prince Henry, in less than a month after the arrival of the said Elector. Some have insinuated, as if the Spaniards, because his highness approved Raleigh's discourse touching a war with Spain, had a hand in his untimely end; alledging, that if Philip the second cut off his own hopeful son Charles for but pitying the people of Flanders, it can be no wonder he (or his son) should promote the destruction of a stranger, who did so far applaud the advice of Raleigh, as to say, "No king, but his father, would keep such a bird in a cage."

But, from more intestine and unnatural sources, his sudden death is surmised by others to have sprung; the disease being so violent, that the combat of nature against it, in the strength of youth (he being almost nineteen years of age) lasted but few days. Here it is somewhat remarkable, that after sir Theodore Mayerne, with Dr. Butler, Hamond, and other most eminent physicians, had used the utmost of their skill in vain, and had the least hopes imaginable left of the prince's recovery, that these should be at last centered in some relief that might be had from sir Walter Raleigh, and that a cordial from him (a state prisoner) should be sent for, and, with consent

sent or approbation, administered, when all other means had failed, and were given over, as we may gather from sir William Cornwallis, and other historians of those times. As to the effect, tho' it came too late, so that it might rather prolong pain than life for a few hours, and must have been a kind of miracle to have restored one so far exhausted, and on the point of expiring ; for he died the same evening, being the sixth of November, 1512 ; yet, to intelligent readers, it is enough to shew first, what high reputation sir Walter Raleigh's medicinal knowledge, through this cordial, had now gained, among the most skillful of the faculty ; and secondly, the unsteady and incoherent opinions which were entertained of one and the same man's loyalty ; that he, who was accused at his trial of a plot to extirpate the royal family, should yet be so far relied on as to save it, as to have the lives first of queen Anne, and afterwards of prince Henry, trusted to his skill.

Though there were strong suspicions of the princes being poisoned, the physicians that attended him gave it under their hands, that he died of a strong malignant fever, after they had anatomized him to amuse the world (says a certain writer) and clear the suspicion of poison, as if no venom could procure the like effects ; while the king, to dispel the clouds of sorrow, commanded that no man should appear at court in mourning.

Whatever was the cause of this excellent prince's death, Raleigh had no common share in the loss of him ; his highness having, but a few months before he died, obtained Sherborne, with intention to return it him, as is already observed ; and, we are further informed, that king James, to satisfy his favourite Car, who was now viscount Rochester, gave him, instead thereof, twenty-five thousand

thousand pounds in money : so far was the crown from gaining by this purchase. But now, after the prince's death, this Rochester got Sherborne of the king again ; however, as some kind of amends, his majesty, we are told by Raleigh himself, also gave his wife and son eight thousand pounds for the said estate.

But, as Raleigh has been occasionally mentioned in the character of an author, it is high time he should be considered more particularly in that light ; which cannot in any place more properly be done, than in this sedentary part of his life, when most of his works were written. Here then we are arrived at that part of his story wherein he will appear rather a collegian than a captive ; a student in a library, than a prisoner in the Tower.

On this occasion, we cannot but reflect, how well such productions, in such a situation ! such spacious exercises of genius, in such a contracted state, will prove, that, though the soul of man, by a fly, or a hair, may be separated from the body, tyranny itself cannot confine it to the body ; and, at the same time, how trifling a calamity confinement must be to those who have well employed their liberty ! Some men, impatient under so many years restraint, would have pined obscurely away by despair ; and others, with rage, have made their bonds more galling : but Raleigh, as in many other disasters, so in this, has left us an example of an heroic mind. In him we may observe there is no levelling a sublime spirit with the subalterns of nature : press it on one part, it will still rise in another ; and be like some hardy plants we have seen, whose heads will shoot forth and flourish in the sight of mankind, though their roots are closely fettered in walls of stone.

Happy

Happy then are they, who in their youth have so fortified themselves with knowledge, and attained to such a knowledge of literature, that, wheresoever they are driven by the persecutions of power, they can make the contemplation of wisdom beguile the sense of their sufferings! Who, out of the most prevailing examples in all ages, of patience and prudence in all exigences, can set themselves lessons of fortitude, and tasks of imitations? Who can, out of the misfortunes of others, extract consolations for themselves; or partake in their prosperity, and make it tributary to their own contentment! Such carry with them an infallible, an undeprivable solace; which can relieve them in poverty with inestimable treasure, and confer on them in prison an intellectual liberty: for the multitudes of anxieties which surprize illiterate and uncultivated minds, even in the midst of the most splendid affluence or adulation, are inaccessible to them, under the darkest clouds of indigence or reproach.

That Raleigh, in his early days, attained to such a taste of letters as all his succeeding avocations could never remove, and which proved not only an ornament to those his earlier and happier days, but a relief in his age and afflictions, even so as to render him, under his darker fortunes and condition, more illustrious than he was in his brightest prosperity, may appear by a survey of his writings from the juvenile productions of his pen, to the more numerous and mature offsprings of his present confinement.

As for the productions of his muse, we shall barely enumerate them. The most remarkable are his poem on Galcoign's Steel-glass; The Excuse; The Silent Lover; The Answer to Marloe's Pastoral;

Pastoral ; with his poem of Cynthia, and two more on Spenser's Fairy Queen. There is a satirical Elegy on the death of the treasurer Cecyl, earl of Salisbury, written within this period, likewise ascribed to him ; and we have still three pieces more of his poetry written afterwards, and but a short time before his death. These are of a solemn nature ; as his Pilgrim, his Epigram in Allusion to the Snuff of a Candle. Lastly, A Divine Stanza, which is called his Epitaph.

But those more continued compositions, which were the result of experience and observation in his several public professions or engagements of life, will, perhaps, first demand our observation ; such as relate to his character as a warrior, a sailor, a discoverer of unknown countries, and a politician versed in the interest of nations and the arts of government. Among these, we may first mention his military discourses ; and these concern either a defence of England in particular, or contain general arguments and examples of the causes and reasons of war among mankind. On the former subject, he seems to have drawn up several remonstrances which are but sparingly and slowly come to light : however, from what has before been observed, of his having had a principal hand in the determinations of the grand council of war, for putting the nation in arms when it was under immediate apprehensions of the Spanish invasion, there is good reason to believe he was also author of a treatise, containing notes of direction for such defence of the kingdom ; written three years before, when the said enemies were beginning to shew their designs. To this treatise was also joined A Direction for the best and most orderly Retreat of an Army, whether in Campaign or Straits : and these were then presented in M. S. to the privy-council.

Herein, one advice is, since frontier forces are unlikely to prevent an enemy from landing, that, if they should land, through the deficiency or absence of our shipping (for this is the force Raleigh was ever for having first used against such foreign invasions) it were better, by driving or clearing the country of provisions, and temporising to endeavour at growing stronger, and rendering the enemy weaker, than to hazard all by a confused and disorderly descent of the populace to oppose the first landing, as their custom heretofore was. But this, chiefly among the said reasons and positions, for preventing an invading enemy, was a little before the approach of the Spanish armada, oppugned by Thomas Gibbes, esq. muster-master-general of her majesty's forces in the Low-Countries, in A Discourse of the Best Order for repulsing a foreign Force, &c. which he then exhibited in print.

This produced an answer, which, having been found in an old manuscript copy among others of sir Walter Raleigh's discourses, has lately been published; and which, by several circumstances therein, agreeing with many in his life, as well as with several orders in the aforesaid council of war, several passages in his History of the World, and his other writings, offers many reasons to believe it was written by him.

But, if we would see his opinion upon this subject in a more extensive and universal manner, it must be in his Discourses of the Original and Fundamental Cause of Natural and Necessary, Arbitrary and Customary, Holy and Civil Wars; which, though also published several years after his death, have sufficient marks of genuineness upon them.

There

There are other writings of his besides, which relate to this topic ; but, as war in them is treated of subordinately, and rather with respect to some national advantages, wherewith it might have been maintained against our enemies, as the posture of affairs then was, or the personal behaviour of some particular men, so we may think it more proper to speak of them under such divisions.

Among these, that which admits of his maritime discourses, may not perhaps be least observable, being a subject seldom handled by men of such learning and experience, yet of such importance to a people in our situation : and under this head, that which should here be perhaps first spoken of, though indeed one of the last pieces he wrote in this state of durance, is, his Discourse of the Invention of Shipping, &c. wherein he treats of the use, defects, and improvements thereof ; the strength and deficiency of the sea-forces of England, France, Spain, and Venice, with five causes of the rise of the Hollanders. His encouragement of a mutual friendship between them and England, as also of the Newcastle trade.

This might lead us more particularly to his excellent Observations and Notes concerning the Royal Navy and Sea Service, which he dedicated to the prince of Wales, as is before mentioned ; therefore all we need observe more of it in this place is, that herein he discourses under distinct heads, of the officers of the navy ; of some errors to be reformed in ship-building ; and others, in harbouring and manning the fleet ; of surcharging them with great ordnance ; the defects in sheathing and calking ; the abuses in victualling ; inconve- niency of the cook-rooms, of mustering and pressing mariners ; of arms and amunition ; and, lastly, of captains to serve in his majesty's ships. With

the second head, or chapter, in this tract, agrees his letter to prince Henry before spoken of, concerning the model of a ship : and in his Introduction to the said Observations, as was also said, our author mentions, A Discourse of a Maritimal Voyage, with the Passages and Incidents therein, which he had formerly written to that prince. This, if it is now in being, must, I think, remain still in manuscript.

This may lead us to such of his discourses as represent this art in execution, particularly those two gallant naval actions wherein sir Richard Greenvil lost his life, and himself won a most signal victory, of which his own pen has preserved the faithful memorials in his Report of the Truth of the Fight about the Isles of Azores, and his Epistolary Account of the Action at Cadiz.

Nor did his care terminate in the best advice for the regulation and maintainance of our shipping, or in recording some of the most notable atchievements performed by it, but extended to the choice and reparation of the most convenient harbours for their reception ; and that not only by his speeches in parliament, as we have already seen, but also by a memorial he presented to queen Elizabeth, touching the port of Dover in particular ; declaring how honourable and profitable to her majesty, how necessary and commodious for the realm, the rebuilding it would be ; with the least expensive and most perfect manner of performing the same.

But, if we advance to his more extensive pursuits and performances relating to that topick, they will lead us into a new geography, into discoveries and descriptions of unknown countries, with the voyages which himself and others under his charge and directions made to that purpose : and under
this

this head would fall thole papers and discourses of his, concerning the discovery, plantation and settlement of Virginia, which were in the possession of sir Francis Walsingham, as was observed before: but whether now recoverable I know not, nor what is become of his Treatise of the West-Indies, which seems to have been a very comprehensive work, by the short sketch himself has given of its contents before quoted.

Better luck seems to have befallen his writings upon Guiana; for we have at least four of his discourses on that country extant, though they, probably, are not all he writ thereon; as, first, his Considerations on the Voyage for Guiana, which has never appeared in print: secondly, his Discovery of the large, rich, and beautiful Empire of Guiana; which he printed himself: thirdly, his Journal of the second Voyage to Guiana; which remains still in manuscript, and perhaps should do so, it being unfinished and full of chasms, seeming to contain only notes and observations for his own memory, when he should have leisure at his return into England to digest and fill up the particulars in a continued discourse: accordingly it seems to have supplied him with materials when he wrote his Apology for the said Voyage.

After his writings, becoming the character of an able commander both by sea and land, if we consider him as an author, in the civil or political capacity, we shall find him there also no less eminent; we shall behold him in this light, no less qualified to govern nations, than, in the other, to conquer and defend them. Some of his compositions, under this distribution, are of a general nature; as that called The Seat of Government, shewing it to be upheld by the two great pillars of civil justice

and martial policy ; and how this is framed out of the husbandmen, merchants, and gentry of the realm. The rest of these ranks or degrees he calls the fruit trees of the kingdom ; or, those who gather the honey, yet hardly enjoy the wax ; and as these feed, the second sort enrich it ; nourishing such trades as have assisted our kings with great sums of money, and great fleets, upon occasion ; while the third sort, our gentry, he calls the gar-risons of good order throughout the realm ; or means rather they have been, or should be such, more than they were in these latter times, to agree with a note he has elsewhere dropt upon them. But this little essay appears, by one expression towards the conclusion, mentioning something to be hereafter proved which is not, to be no more than a fragment. The like we apprehend of his Observations concerning the Causes of the Magnificency and Opulency of Cities, from a word in the very first paragraph, referring to such people as seem to have been before mentioned. Though, in the main, this is a general discourse, it bears some particular references to a rude and barbarous people ; and might possibly be the result of such considerations as must have engaged his mind, when those propositions were on foot for founding the city of Raleigh in Virginia, as was before intimated. In this little essay, after having spoken of the means to civilize and reform such a people, he proceeds, under distinct heads, to treat of the best situations of cities for safety and plenty ; of the multitude of inhabitants, religion, academies, courts of justice, artificers, privileges and triumphs ; so concludes with those three causes of confirming a city in her greatness, justice, peace and plenty.

Of a more extensive nature still, is that treatise we have of his, called Maxims of State ; being a
me-

methodical compendium of government in all or most of its forms and branches; with many of its chapters analytically digested for the sake of brevity and perspicuity. Herein having explained and defined the words government, policy, state, and the other office of sovereignty, he proceeds to distinguish the several sorts of monarchy, aristocracy, free state, tyranny, oligarchy, and commonwealth. Then of the founding a state, with its parts, and of preserving it under those several forms, by mysteries or sophisms, rules or actions. Lastly, the conversion of states, general and particular, by foreign invasion, domestic sedition, or alteration without violence.

Thus ends this treatise; to which is joined, as a kind of corollary for the better use of the book, two or three passages in the story of David; from whence an inference is drawn, That old age is not always unfit for government; and also a defence of that prince for marrying Abishag: so closes with a portrait of political nobility, in the story of Adonijah aspiring to the kingdom; with observations of the marks to discern such practices; and another of the political prince, in a farther example of the said king David; who, though aged, deserted, and rebelled against by many of his nobles, stirred up himself to public action, and thereby shewed his vigour and sufficiency to manage the affairs of his kingdom.

Herewith may be mentioned that larger treatise bordering upon these subjects, which is called The Arts of Empire, &c. but handled in a different manner. It is divided into twenty-six chapters, defining public weals, and differences of sovereignty; more particularly the three kinds of monarchy, and how to perpetuate them. Also of councils and counsellors, officers, commissioners,

magistrates and ministers of state. Of justice, treasure and war. Of neighbouring princes. The character of an excellent prince. Art of ruling. Of princely authority, power, and force. Of conspiracy and treason, public hatred, diffidence and dissimulation. Of war, defensive and invasive, law of arms, soldiers and their discipline. Of generals and commanders, councils of war, directions tactic and stratagemic; with advice how to make an honourable peace. Of civil-war, with the causes and remedies of it. And the two last chapters contain a collection of political observations, and maxims of state; or prudential grounds and polemical precepts concerning all states and forms of policy, &c. confirmed by select narrations and historical precepts.

But if we descend to those political writings of our author, which were occasionally composed; and with more particular regard to the exigents of state in his own time, through the virtues of a penetrating eye into the drifts of every neighbouring nation, and a constant attachment to the security and interest of his own; we shall find them still more numerous; and these, as they most of them have a special regard to Spain, might proceed from the perfect knowledge he had of that kingdom, and its tyrannical practices. One instance hereof we have in that discourse of *The Spaniard's Cruelties to the English in Havanna*; which is ascribed to sir Walter Raleigh, with other tracts, in a volume among the manuscripts of a late person of honour.

His many other observations of this kind might well produce his *Consultation about the Peace with Spain*, and our protecting the Netherlands; as also that other treatise, *How War may be made with Spain and the Indies*. Directions for such an

CH-

enterprise may be easily presumed to have been effectually enough given by the same hands that composed, *The present State of Spain, with a most accurate Account of his Catholic Majesty's Power and Riches: also the Names and Worth of the most considerable Persons in that Kingdom.*

It was this intimate knowledge he had of the state of all European princes, which so well qualified him to give the approved advice he did in those two discourses he wrote upon *The Match propounded by the Savoyan, between the lady Elizabeth and the prince of Piedmont: and that between prince Henry of England and a daughter of Savoy*; of which we have several manuscript copies, and, as some assert, the original also extant.

The same knowledge likewise enabled him so dexterously to oppose the corrupt doctrines and pernicious designs of the papists, in his *Dialogue between a Jesuit and a Recusant*; shewing how dangerous their Principles are to Christian Princes. Another excellent tract we have of his in this way of writing is, his *Dialogue between a Counsellor of State and a Justice of Peace*; better known in the printed copies by the title of his *Prerogative of Parliaments*; dedicated, with a true and generous spirit of wisdom and loyalty, to king James.

These two dialogues will give a perfect taste of our author's manner in these his lesser compositions, and are answerable to the character before delivered of his *Consultation about the Peace*, above-mentioned.

The last tract we have to speak of under this partition, except perhaps a short unprinted Discourse of the Words *Law and Right*, also ascribed to him, and to be found in the Ashmolean library, is intitled

titled, Observations touching Trade and Commerce with the Hollanders, and other Nations, as it was presented to king James; wherein it is proved, that our Sea and Land Commodities serve to enrich and strengthen other Countries against our own. But there are reasons to doubt whether sir Walter Raleigh was the author of this treatise.

These we shall divide but into two parts, and then, perhaps, one of them may be best comprehended under the topic of philosophy. To this head belongs, by its subject, that short treatise of the soul, ascribed to sir Walter Raleigh; of which there is a copy preserved among the Ashmolean manuscripts. We have in print another treatise which may be ranked in the same class, being built on the doctrine of Pyrrho the Greek philosopher, entitled, Sir Walter Raleigh's Sceptick or Speculations. This doctrine, shewing how much may be said for and against the same things, such an ingenious exemplification of it as this little tract contains, may, if discreetly used, prevent many rash, dogmatical determinations, and inure us to a wary or prudent suspense of judgment: for the sceptic, as our author describes him, does neither affirm or deny any position, but doubts it, and opposes reasons against that which is affirmed or denied, to justify his not consenting; because he may report how things appear, but whether they are so he knows not.

This little tract, as it is here handled, relates chiefly to our senses; but another we have, upon a more dignified topic, as concerning our manners, or virtues and vices; therefore what might be more particularly subdivided under the distinction of Moral Philosophy; and it is called, Instructions to his Son and Posterity. A treatise well becoming an author, who had seen the world
in

in so many climates, and life in so many changes. It is written in a perspicuous style, with forcible arguments, and on the most practical subjects.

All the other works ascribed to sir Walter Raleigh, which bear any affinity with this class, are two manuscripts, which might be distinguished under the branch of Natural Philosophy.

The first is his Treatise of Mines, and the Trial of Minerals; a subject on which he very probably might write, both from his own observations in the West-Indies, and those engagements he might also have in his native country of Devon, with his brother sir Adrian Gilbert, who first, in queen Elizabeth's reign, begun to work the long neglected mines in Comb-Martin (whence king Edward III. had supplied his wars against France) and was followed by sir Beavis Bulmer, who from those mines recovered a great quantity of silver, out of which he caused two massy goblets to be made; one whereof was presented to the earl of Bath; and the other, weighing one hundred and thirty-seven ounces, to the lord-mayor of London, in the thirty-fifth year of the queen's reign. So that what Cicero says to his friend of this island, that it yielded not a drachm of that metal, was false in Raleigh's time, and what he could not be sure was true in his own.

The second manuscript is Sir Walter Raleigh's Collection of Chymical and Medicinal Receipts for fixing mercury, preparing antimony, and for the cure of several Diseases. His application to studies of this kind, may perhaps be somewhat accountable from the patronage which it appears he had shewn to John Hester, the famous chymist, with the conversation there might probably pass between them, and the knowledge he had learned from the Guianians of curing all manner of poison, &c.

It is apparent that he bestowed some portion of his time upon the use of Lembicks and crucibles while he was in the Tower, and seems to have had a kind of laboratory there for his said operations.

How elaborately soever many of these pieces are allowed by others to have been written, our author looked upon them but as little excursions, or sallies, as he calls them, from his grand labour, I mean that ocean of history, wherein he has outdone all that went before him, and given such lights to futurity as must ever be grateful. “A voyage
“ which, if begun even in the dawn of his day,
“ when the light of knowledge first broke out upon
“ his younger years, and before any wound received, either from Fortune or Time, he might
“ yet well have doubted (as he observes himself)
“ that the darkness of age and death would have
“ overtaken him long before the performance.”

But being undertaken as it was, in the evening of a tempestuous life, a life so far run out in travels and pursuits of such opposite nature; for one under the soul-piercing privations of honour, fortune, freedom! One buried alive! to attempt such a universal revival of the dead! And, while his body laboured under all those pressures, for his brain to be delivered of that Minerva, as a certain author calls it, his History of the World! is an example that might puzzle such an historian even as Raleigh himself to parallel. For, beginning at the creation, he has given us the substance of History down to the end of the second Macedonian war.

Thus having reviewed the three first monarchies of the world, he leaves Rome in the fourth, triumphant, about a century and a half before the birth of Christ, comprehending a period of near four thousand years.

This

This work was divided by our author into five books, who annexed to it a very copious and useful chronological table: and it was, with the further decorations of maps, tables of genealogy, &c. published in the month of April, just before the meeting of the parliament, in a large volume, folio, 1614. The approbation it has met with since the author's death, has been so universal, that if they are different editions of the book to which we may see different dates printed, we may venture to say, no work of any author in England has been so often reprinted that is of equal size and antiquity. The several characters and commendations which have been bestowed on this history, as well by miscellaneous writers, who have frequently quoted it with great deference and respect, as by historians and critics, who have closely traced and thoroughly examined it; and as well in verse as prose, would be too numerous to be here inserted, could they be recovered.

He took no ordinary care to deserve these encomiums; for, besides his own learning, knowledge, and judgment, which many would have thought sufficient for any undertaking, he, with that caution wherewith we have beheld so many others of his great enterprizes attempted, would suffer no part of this history to pass his own hand; before some of the most able scholars, whom he assembled, it seems, for this purpose, had debated the parts he was most doubtful of, and they most conversant in, before him. Thus in the Mosaic and Oriental antiquities, or fainter and more remote footsteps of time, he would sometimes consult the learned Dr. Robert Burhill. In all parts of chronology, geography, and other branches of mathematical science, he wanted not the opinions of the learned Harriot, and the earl of Northumberland's three magi,

magi, long his neighbours in the Tower; and, wherever he scrupled any thing in the phrase or diction, he would hear the accurate and ingenious sir John Hoskyns, some time also resident in these confines; who viewed and reviewed the said history, as we are told, before it went to the press; and whom Ben Johnson, proud of calling others his sons, could gratify that humour in calling father.

Thus having spared no labour, and neglected no means to bring this work to the perfection wherein we behold it, it is no wonder that some scribler or other should, upon finding it so universally read, endeavour to raise himself a little profit or credit from it, by pretending that the world needed an abridgment of its history, as if that wherewith sir Walter Raleigh has presented us, either is, or was intended for any thing more. But this more specious kind of detraction meeting with no countenance, the author of it threw out another, of animadversions upon this history; but as insignificant, and no less disregarded than the other, being agreeable to that unhappy spirit of contradiction which ever harrassed him to oppose the greatest writers in his time.

But what is more considerable concerning this history, is, whether our author ever continued it down to his own times; and whether, on some pretence, that this first part did not meet with encouragement, he ever destroyed the said continuation himself, as we have it in the mouths of every body when they speak of him, but in the belief of nobody who knows any thing of his story or his character. All that he says himself, in the least, glancing this way, is first in his Preface, 'That he proposed to confine his discourse with this our renowned isle of Great-Britain; and, that he forbears to promise a second or third volume, which
he

he intends, if he first receives grace and good acceptance, for that which is already done may be thought enough and too much. Lastly, in the conclusion of the history he says, “Whereas this
 “book by the title calls itself The First Part of
 “the General History of the World, implying a
 “second and third volume, which I also intended
 “and have hewn out; besides many discouragements
 “persuading my silence, it has pleased God
 “to take that glorious prince out of the world to
 “whom they were directed; whose unspeakable
 “and never-enough lamented loss, has taught me
 “to say with Job, *Verba est in luctum cithera*
 “*mea, & organum meum in vocem flentium.*”

From hence it seems plain enough, that our author had only some plan, [or perhaps a few rough draughts of some succeeding parts of the history at this time drawn up, and that he was discouraged from making any further progress in them. Allowing his mind might change, and there was time enough to finish the remaining volumes between this year and that of his death, which is scarcely allowable: yet, as we know how most of that time was employed by him, it will admit of no room for any such performance: for, in 1615, the year which followed that wherein he published his history, two at least of his most elaborate tracts beforementioned were written. The same year he was also busy in writing letters, and making other interest for his releasement, which he obtained before it was quite expired.

After this, it will no less appear that he made himself too eminently the subject of modern history, to be any further an author of ancient. There is, indeed, a little intimation of the design he had upon some ancient part of our English history, preserved in a letter of his own, written, it seems, though

though undated, before his great work was published, to that acquaintance, whose library was amost likely to accommodate him with those uncommon books which he wanted for his purpose. This letter is as follows :

“ SIR ROBERT COTTON,

“ IF you have any of these old books, or any
 “ manuscripts wherein I may find any of our British
 “ antiquities; if you please to lend them me for a
 “ little while, I will safely restore them, and think
 “ myself much beholden unto you : or if you have
 “ any old French history, wherein our nation is
 “ mentioned; or any else, in what language so-
 “ ever.” So subscribes himself,

“ Your poor Friend,

“ W. RALEGH.”

But this does not sufficiently assure us, whether the use of these books was to continue his General History, or furnish him upon some more particular subject; however, we may incline with the writer of sir Robert Cotton's life to the former opinion : and as for the reasons of one ingenious author, why sir Walter Raleigh was the most proper person to write the History of his own Time ; and the opinion of another, That his admirable performance, already published, sufficiently shews, that if he attempted The History of his own Country, or his own Times, he would have excelled even Livy or Thucydides ; and that The Annals of Queen Elizabeth, by his pen, without diminishing from the serious and judicious Camden, had been the brightest glory of her reign ; and would have transmitted his history as the standard of our language even to the present age.

These

These are still no affirmatives that he finished such a second part: so that his own intimations in the first part, reserved and inconclusive as they are, seem to have been the only foundation of that trite story, That sir Walter Raleigh, a few days before his death, sent for Walter Burre, the bookseller who had printed his first volume, and taking him by the hand, asked him, How that work of his had sold? who answered, So slowly that it had undone him. Hereupon Raleigh, stepping to his desk, reached out the other part of his history, which he had brought down to the times he lived in; then saying with a sigh, “Ah! friend, has
 “the first part undone thee? the second volume
 “shall undo no more; this ungrateful world is
 “unworthy of it;” so stepped to the fire, threw it in, and set his foot on it till it was consumed.

But, as we observed before; Raleigh had no leisure to finish such a second part of his history down to the present time. In the next place, it is no ways probable that he, who, in regard to the first part, could follow the rule of Seneca; that he, who having satisfied his own conscience, could disregard the censure of others, should sacrifice so great a part of his labours, or any part, in such a rash and inconsiderate manner, to the sudden representations of a bookseller, within three years after the first; and, lastly, the first man we can meet with who reports the same, is a trifling and superficial writer, who produces no authority for his assertion.

As to the unfinished parts he might have of such a continuation, to admit that they were thus destroyed would, by no means, agree with an account we have more satisfactorily attested of that great quantity there was in being of sir Walter Raleigh’s unprinted writings several years after his death:

for we are assured, That the famous Mr. Hamden, a little before the civil wars, was at the charge of transcribing three thousand, four hundred and fifty-two sheets of sir Walter Raleigh's manuscripts. Yet what is become of this treasure now, is not easy to determine: for, if we suppose that Mr. Hamden would not be at the trouble and charge of transcribing any of our author's writings which had then been printed; and grant that all of his, which have been printed since that time, as well as all we can hear of remaining in MS. which are allowed to be his, were part of that collection or quantity, they will not, both joined together, as might be computed from what is here observed of them, amount to a fourth part thereof, though we should admit two or three pieces more, also ascribed to him, which have not yet been named, and happen to fall under his historical division.

The first of them is called, A notable and memorable Story of the cruel War between the Carthaginians and their own Mercenaries; gathered out of Polibius and other authors, by that famous historian sir Walter Raleigh. The other two pieces might seem to fall within the intended continuation of his Universal History; but the first of them, called, The Life and Death of Mahomet; The Conquest of Spain; together with the Rising and Ruin of the Saracen Empire, ascribed to sir Walter Raleigh near twenty years after his death, by the bookseller who dedicated it to his son, is, except a few leaves concerning Mahamet, no more than a translation of an epitome made by some ignorant Spanish author, chiefly from what one of his own fabulous countrymen had written of a fictitious prince named Jacob Almanzor.

The other piece is stiled, An Introduction to a Breviary of the History of England; with the
Reign

Reign of King William I. entitled the Conqueror, written by sir Walter Raleigh. It was near four-score years after his death before this was published. Yet there are several old manuscript copies of it in the libraries of the curious, which entitle him the author of it; but it was written at least two years before he published his History of the World, because it was inscribed to a person who died so long before the said publication, in these words: "I intend, by the help of God, and your furtherance, right noble earl of Salisbury, to write a brief history of England, from William the First, entitled the Conqueror, to the end of queen Elizabeth, of perpetual memory." But, by the time his History of the World was finished, he was, as we have observed, also from his own words, discouraged from all continuation.

To these discouragements might be added, the ungrateful treatment which was shewn to the part he published at its first appearance: for, though we have observed what universal approbation it has met with since the author's death, yet how it was received as soon as it came abroad, and made its first visits at court, we are yet to relate.

Those who thought the king must needs be a patron of authors, because he was one of the number, have been ready to insinuate, that his favour increased towards Raleigh in proportion to the proofs his pen had given of his abilities; therefore, that his many excellent writings, and especially this History of the World, were the most powerful intercessors for his releasement out of the Tower; as if his majesty, in respect to his own honour, thought it in vain longer to confine his person, since no condition could confine his fame; or, in regard to Raleigh's merit, that he had well deserved, no place should be a barrier to his liberty, who had given

such extraordinary testimony that no age could set a bound to his knowledge.

Sanderſon has deſcribed the freedom which not long after enſued, to one of thoſe motives; where he ſays, “ Sir Walter Raleigh, wearied with long
 “ imprifonment, and having there ſpent his time
 “ well in The Hiſtory of the World, made his pe-
 “ tition more paſſable to the king, whoſe love to
 “ learning granted him now at laſt his liberty,
 “ and, not long after, leave to wander after a
 “ deſign to the weſtern world, where he had been
 “ in ſeveral climates before.” But others, who ſeem to have known the matter much better, or have more ingenuouſly imparted it, aſſure us, that Raleigh’s excellent talents were ſo far from ingra- tiating him with the king, that, though his ma- jeſty had been intemperately praiſed by flatterers for ſome of the weakeſt of his own compositions, yet he could not forbear, out of an impertinent emulation, to affect ſir Walter Raleigh the leſs, becauſe of the great repute which he had acquired by his excellent pen. Nay, we are elſewhere told, in answer to Sanderſon above, That Raleigh’s Hiſtory of the World gave the king ſo much diſ- pleaſure, that at its firſt publication it was forbid, and particularly for ſome paſſages in it which of- fended the Spaniard, ; as alſo for being too plain with the faults of princes in his Preface: for it is indeed replete with many remarkable examples of divine vengeance poured forth on princes of many other nations as well as our own, who ſtrove to eſtabliſh their thrones by oppreſſion and ini- quity.

That paſſage in answer to Sanderſon, is ſo far from being denied by this writer, that he afterwards confirmed it in contradiction to what himſelf had written as above, about Raleigh’s petition being
 made

made more passable by his history; where, after his gross manner of interpretation, he says, “King James and all other princes had cause of complaint, because his whole book sets out the Eastern monarchs with much glory, and exclaims against Christian princes as most inhuman; tracing all the English sovereigns from the conquest, especially Henry VIII; whom, for his daughter’s honour, sir Walter Raleigh might have spared from gall and bitterness. And a little further, “King James might perhaps observe more, to repress the wickedness of such a person, who, under pretence of taxing a vice in the father, intended cunningly to stain the whole race, &c.”

This objection against Raleigh’s character of the king, is more particularly ascribed to king James by another writer, who tells us, “That after much scorn cast upon Raleigh’s history, the king, being modestly demanded, What fault he found? answered, as one surprized, That Raleigh had spoken irreverently of Henry VIII.” as if he would have reflected a breach of gratitude upon our historian towards his benefactress the late queen, in speaking such truth when he was to give a character of her father, as not only others who read it must concur in, but which that king himself, were he alive, must also have allowed; since it is only a paraphrase upon his own dying confession, that he had been a “prince, who never spared man in his anger, nor woman in his lust.”

But, if king James could thus object against Raleigh for one character, and pay him no thanks for another which follows in the same paragraph of that preface, and in some parts of the history itself,

itself, this may perhaps best shew where lay the breach of gratitude. But, however his majesty might think it a kind of blasphemy, that any below the dignity of princes should be the censors of them; yet the objection above-mentioned seems not to be the natural cause of his dislike to this history, since none ever exclaimed against that prince more than usually king James himself did.

And others, more particularly still, are inclined to believe, that any liberty Raleigh may have taken with the characters of other princes, was not so much the real cause of such disgust in king James, as, through the insinuations of some mischievous sycophants about him, who knew well what humour might be most agreeably fed, that several parts of the history contained an oblique and artful exposure of himself and his ministry; as if, the general history of the world was chiefly a secret history, or satire upon his court; and Scotch faces were to be seen in it, stuck upon old Jewish, Babylonian, or Assyrian shoulders. But the truth is, that conscious minds can find in every example something to chastise themselves; and, to stomachs vitiated, through foul and unwholesome administrations, with evil habits, the most innocent diet is pernicious. That Raleigh foresaw his enemies would put such perverse construction on his history, is evident enough in his own words; where, mentioning the choice he had made, as least exceptionable, of ancient times to describe, he yet anticipates this objection, “against the
 “choice also: why may it not be said, that in
 “speaking of the past, I point at the present; and
 “tax the vices of those who are yet living, in their
 “persons who are long since dead, and have it
 “laid to my charge? but this I cannot help, tho’
 “innocent; and certainly, if there be any, who,
 “finding

“ finding themselves spotted like the tygers of old
 “ time, shall find fault with me for painting them
 “ over anew, they shall therein accuse themselves
 “ justly, and me falsely.” Yet such fault there
 was, we see, found; and so falsely was he accused.
 Thus the honour which should reward a public
 benefit, is stifled by private prejudice.

We are therefore to seek some other mediator
 for Raleigh's deliverance out of prison than his
 merit by this public benefit; and that we shall at
 last find to be his money, though other causes in
 our common histories are also suggested, especially
 that which seemed most effectual, the offer he
 made of fitting out an expedition to secure, and
 possess for the crown, a gold mine in Guiana,
 which he had himself discovered when he was for-
 merly in that country; and which, since that
 time, had been by others so amply testified, that
 further confirmation was not now required. So
 that Raleigh's being deceived by Keymis with ore
 of a golden complexion, which he brought from
 thence, or by any chymical tricks, such as secretly
 slipping real gold with the ore in the melting-pot,
 are ridiculous falsehoods. Now, that offer Raleigh
 had made at least three years before he obtained
 his liberty, with no unreasonable expectation of
 its being accepted, since king James had so pub-
 licly asserted and confirmed the right of England
 to that country, through sir Walter Raleigh's con-
 quest and discoveries therein, with the submission
 he had gained from the chief lords thereof, as to
 have given commissions and patents for the posses-
 sion of the same, that is to say, all from the river
 of Amazons to the Desequebe; and all the
 islands for twenty miles about, in his majesty's
 name: which were accordingly executed in all
 due form by captain Charles Leigh and captain

Robert Harcourt, which last left a colony there of thirty persons for three years, as may be read at large in the narratives of their several expeditions.

Besides the public invitations and encouragement which afterwards ensued, to all who would again settle and plant in that new discovered part of America, gave the discover himself, no doubt, the greater hopes that his own propositions, being not for his private, but the public benefit (yet at his own expence, and that of such friends as he should engage in the adventure) could not but be embraced. Add to this, the advantages of his further knowing the riches of this country, even while he was in prison, not only by the long conversation he had with those Indians, whom we find here with him in the former part of his confinement, but others, who from time to time, came over to him. For, during this long imprisonment, he held constant intercourse with Guiana, and was at the charge every year, or every second year, of sending a ship or more thither, to keep them in hopes of being relieved from the Spaniards, who had again encroached upon them, and cruelly massacred both several of the natives, and of his own men. So that the number of voyages he set forth for Guiana, was at least as many, if not more, than those he is before observed to have made to Virginia.

But all this experience, which should have recommended his offer, served at first only to render it unacceptable. For the treasurer Cecyl being then alive, he, with two or three others who bore the sway at court, were resolved to discountenance it; not that they so much doubted the probability that such treasure might remain unpossessed, or
the

the knowledge and resolution of Raleigh to compass it, so much as his disposition towards themselves, if by a successful return he should purchase the king's favour. Therefore, to prevent such a rival as he might prove to them, the advantage he proposed to the state was neglected; nay, so deeply had they rooted prejudices in the king's breast towards him in this particular, as well as in others before-mentioned, that when his majesty was solicited by any person in Raleigh's behalf (and royal solicitors he had) he, with that implicit reliance on other men's reports, which those in supreme station so often bury their own judgments and their justice in, would answer, "That his council knew him better than he did."

But, after Cecyl's death, and now that sir Ralph Winwood was secretary of state, Raleigh revived his proposal to him; and, in a letter, told him, with relation to those two or three sycophants, who were ever busy about the king, and at the mercy of whose representations he had so long lain, that it was his only infelicity the king did not know him as well as those courtiers pretended to do: "For had his majesty known me, says he, I had never been here where I now am; or had I known his majesty, they had never been so long there where they now are. His majesty not knowing me has been my ruin, and his misknowing them has been the ruin of a goodly part of his estate. But they are all of them now, some living and some dying, come to his majesty's knowledge."

We learn further out of the said letter, that both queen Anne, who had informed herself from the beginning of all that Raleigh had been accused of, and her brother the king of Denmark, at both times of his being in England, were thoroughly

roughly satisfied of his innocence, otherwise they would never have moved his majesty in his behalf. And prince Henry, who had been curious in searching into the nature of his offences, had been frequently a mediator for him, as we have read before. Hereupon, says Raleigh, “the wife, the brother, and the son of a king, do not use to sue for men suspect; but, since they have all done it, and with reference to me alone, you, strengthened by their example, may with the more hardiness do the like.”

Towards the end, Raleigh having acknowledged, that all he had remaining was owing to the king, and that he was ready to sacrifice it all in his majesty's service, concludes with this noble distinction; “To die for the king, and not by the king, is all the ambition I have in the world.”

This, and other like addresses to that new secretary, did not advance Raleigh's request so much, but he found it necessary to use stronger interest than what he was here making, and more substantial arguments than could flow from a pen. For whatever “pity of his sufferings, his merit, and fame of learning now begat in many, or by whatever means of the French ambassador, with others of our own lords,” it is pretended in our common accounts of him, that “he got freedom of repairing for his health to his house at St. James's, a year or two before he procured his commission for his voyage to Guiana,” we are more positively and particularly told, “That sir William St. John and sir Edward Villiers, half-brothers to the lady Villiers, afterwards duchess of Buckingham, procured sir Walter Raleigh's liberty, and had fifteen hundred pounds for their labour.”

It

It further appears, that these used their power with sir George Villiers, the new rising favourite at court, and so obtained the king's consent for Raleigh's enlargement; for there is a letter of Raleigh's acknowledgments to that favourite in these words: "Sir, you have, by your mediation, put me again into the world; I can but acknowledge it, for to pay any part of your favour by any service of mine as yet, it is not in my power. If it succeed well, a good part of the honour shall be yours; and, if I do not also make it profitable unto you, I shall shew myself exceedingly ungrateful. In the mean while, and till God discover the success, I beseech you to reckon me among the number of your faithful servants, though the least able. W. Raleigh."

This letter is dated only March 17, but probably written in this year last mentioned, 1615, because, three days afterwards, as Camden has precisely remembered, sir Walter Raleigh was released out of the Tower. So that he thus purchased his liberty in the thirteenth year of his confinement; that is to say, after he had been (without intermission) twelve years, three months and five days in the tower of London, besides near three months more at his first commitment thither, and during his arraignment at Winchester.

Raleigh being thus at liberty, soon appears busy in making preparation for his voyage. To this purpose he called in the eight thousand pounds, which he had lent to the countess of Bedford, reckoned in king James's declaration, a competent satisfaction for Sherborne; though it was afterwards valued by the state at five thousand pounds per annum. But seeing that not sufficient to fit out a fleet in the manner he found necessary, his wife consented also to sell her house and lands at Mitcham

Mitcham in Surry, for which he received two thousand five hundred pounds; all which and more he expended in this expedition. And what frenzy could possess him, as he says himself, thus to dispose of his whole substance, and undertake such a toilsome and dangerous voyage, now that his constitution was impaired by such a long confinement, besides age itself, sickness and affliction, were he assured thereby of doing his prince service, bettering his country by commerce, and restoring his family to their estates, all from the mines of Guiana; and, says he, "If I myself had not seen them with my own eyes."

Besides the ten thousand five hundred pounds which it cost sir Walter Raleigh to put himself in equipage for this long-proposed voyage, a much greater sum than would have paid for his liberty of receding from it, or for a formal pardon, had he thought he needed, and had gone about to purchase it; there were many co-adventurers, who, by contributions to the expence of it, intitled themselves to a share in the returns. But most of these are called by Raleigh, a company of volunteers, who had never seen the seas nor wars; and, except some forty gentlemen, a very dissolute, disorderly, and ungovernable crew, whom their friends thought themselves happy to be discharged of, at the hazard of some thirty, forty, or fifty pounds, knowing they could not have lived a whole year so cheap at home. There were, moreover, several merchants, not only in England but foreign parts, who contributed to this mine-adventure; so confident were they it was no chimera, no supposititious, or airy treasure that was promised or pursued. One of these merchants, afterwards knighted, and very eminent for his dealings, was named Peter Vanlore, who so approved of sir Walter Raleigh's undertaking, that he not only sent a letter to his brother

brother sir Adrian Thibaut in Amsterdam, requesting him to engage another merchant there to communicate something he knew of the riches in Guiana to sir Walter Raleigh: but made that request in sir Walter Raleigh's own manner of expression, from a copy which he drew up for him.

It is proper here to observe a little opposition that was made to this voyage. And, indeed, some persons at court, who might remember what advances Raleigh had formerly made there, by the means of several exploits which he undertook, at a distance from it; and others, admonished by experience, that every friendly gale in his navigation would be, splitting them upon a rock, might well be expected to obstruct, as far as they could, his progress: but none do we hear of so impatient and clamorous against it as the Spaniards. For there had been now, in England, about three years, an agent from Spain, named Diego Sarmiento de Acuna, better known, but not till about the time of Raleigh's death, or perhaps after it, by the title of count de Gondomar; a man, who, if he had gained that influence he did over king James purely by art, must be allowed a good share of dexterity in the mysteries of negotiation; but, as he was adapted by nature to soothe and captivate him, no less than by the pretensions of his agency, it diminishes the wonders of his success in making that king subject to his enchantments, and keeping him so many years a prisoner as it were, in the Tower, he had heaped up of airy and glittering promises.

This was the man, who (as he is represented in king James's declaration) now "took the alarm, and is said to have made loud and vehement assertions to his majesty in repeated audiences, that

“ that he knew, and had discovered the intention
 “ and enterprize of sir Walter Raleigh to be but
 “ hostile and piratical, tending to a breach be-
 “ tween the two crowns, and the danger and de-
 “ struction of the king his master’s subjects in
 “ those parts; protesting in a sort against it.”
 To which the king made answer, (as it is
 “ there said after Raleigh’s death) “ he would
 “ send sir Walter with a limited commission,
 “ (but how limited it was will soon appear)
 “ and that he durst not upon peril of his head, do
 “ any such matter; and, if he did, he would sure-
 “ ly do justice upon him, or send him bound hand
 “ and foot into Spain, with all the gold and goods
 “ he should obtain by robbery, and bring home,
 “ were they never so great.”

Then the king, by sir Ralph Winwood, got
 both a solemn protestation from Raleigh, that he
 had no other intention but only to go to those
 gold mines; and also a close letter to his majesty
 (as it is here in his declaration justly called) con-
 firming the same.

This close letter was both written close to the
 purpose, or in such expressive terms, as to have
 laid open the whole scheme of Raleigh’s voyage;
 and also, as a matter to be kept close, or with the
 utmost privacy; for, it is said, that upon such
 communication, his majesty promised, “ on the
 “ word of a king, to keep it secret:” and, it
 would have prevented all supposition of disinge-
 nuity, if this close letter had been fairly exhibited
 in that declaration, had it been when this was
 penned, in the king’s possession, as it ought, ac-
 cording to his royal promise. On the contrary,
 this seems to have been the very letter, by which,
 through the Spanish ambassador’s means, his mas-
 ter the king of Spain was pre-admonished of Ra-
 leigh’s

leigh's whole enterprize, and had sent to Guiana, before he left the British chancel, to prepare a greater force than his, to oppose him, as will hereafter appear. Nay, it is visible, by what immediately follows in the said declaration, both that this close letter (how closely soever the contents of it are with-held) did reveal the particulars of Raleigh's naval strength, and that the king divulged it to the Spanish ambassador; because, it was so far from making him recede from his former jealousy, that he is discovered to have objected thereupon against the number of ships Raleigh had prepared for the said voyage, to which Raleigh then doubtless made a proper answer, as we shall find hereafter.

But, in short, such a proposal, by one who bore the reputation of, such an active, witty, and valiant gentleman, especially of so great a commander at sea, as his enemies allow he had; one who must be thought most wary above all others of incurring king James's displeasure, under which he had so long suffered; one who had given such public proofs of his sincerity in the prosecution of this proposal; and one who, as the greatest pledge he could give thereof, was actually embarking his whole fortune as well as credit, together with those of his friends and relations, all finding security for their good behaviour, without any charge to the crown if they failed, and with prospect of great advantage, if they succeeded, was so far from being overthrown by any remonstrances of the ambassador himself, or from being thought a most noble and generous overture by all other men, that even the king's honour is acknowledged, in his own declaration, to have been engaged, "not to deny his people the adventure and hope of so great riches."

And

And yet, what character of that king's honour towards his people, is exposed, in the same leaf of that very declaration, where it is pretended, that, in his own princely judgment, he gave no belief to it, as being persuaded, that in nature there were no such mines entire, or that the Spaniards, so industrious in the chase of treasure, would have so long neglected the same, is left to the reader's decision. But it may be best discovered by the care taken to secure his majesty's dividend so clearly, and to express many other articles so doubtfully, in the commission itself, whether it was from a magnanimous principle, or a mercenary one, from upright policy, or downright prevarication, that the same was granted. We shall here present the reader with an abstract of the commission.

“ JAMES, by the grace of God, &c. To all
 “ to whom these presents shall come, &c. Where-
 “ as sir Walter Raleigh, knight, intendeth to un-
 “ dertake a voyage by sea and shipping, to the
 “ south parts of America, possessed and inhabited
 “ by heathen and savage people, to discover some
 “ commodities and merchandize profitable for the
 “ subjects of our kingdoms, whereof the inhabi-
 “ tants make little or no use ; whence may ensue,
 “ by commerce some propagation of the Christian
 “ faith and reformed religion among those idolatrous
 “ people : and whereas there are divers merchants,
 “ &c. well disposed to assist sir Walter Raleigh, had
 “ they assurance to enjoy their due share of the
 “ profits returned, sir Walter Raleigh being un-
 “ der the peril of the law ; and whereas divers
 “ other gentlemen, his kinsmen and friends, with
 “ several captains and commanders, are desirous
 “ to follow and venture their lives with him, if
 “ they might be commanded by none but himself :
 “ we,

" we, upon deliberate consideration, desiring the
 " benefit of our subjects, also to give our princely
 " furtherance to the said sir Walter Raleigh and his
 " friends, as well as to encourage others in the
 " like laudable enterprizes, advance the conver-
 " sion of savages, and encrease traffick by our sub-
 " jects of this kingdom, have of our special grace,
 " &c. granted sir Walter Raleigh full power to
 " carry for the said voyage, so many of our sub-
 " jects, or others who will become our subjects, as
 " shall willingly accompany him; with sufficient ship-
 " ping, armour, weapons, ordnance, munition, pow-
 " der, shot, &c. and all other things as he shall
 " think necessary for the use and defence of him
 " and his company; besides liberty to exchange,
 " or otherwise dispose of his goods or merchan-
 " dize; also to return into this or other of our
 " dominions, with such gold, silver, bullion, or
 " any other wares, and they to be converted to
 " the proper use of the said sir Walter Raleigh and
 " his company; paying to us, our heirs, &c. the
 " full fifth part of all such gold and silver, bullion
 " and ore, of gold or silver, pearl or precious
 " stones, as shall be so imported; with all such
 " customs, &c. as shall be due for any other goods
 " whatever.

" Further to encourage sir Walter Raleigh and
 " the adventurers, we promise, in verbo regio,
 " that no gold, silver, or other wares by them im-
 " ported from those parts so possessed and inhabit-
 " ed, shall be seized by us, our heirs, or any of
 " our officers, but that it shall remain (the fifth
 " part of the said gold, silver, bullion, &c. as be-
 " fore, with all other customs and duties being
 " truly paid) to the sole use of sir Walter Raleigh
 " and his company.

“ Further of our most special grace, &c. we
“ constitute the said sir Walter Raleigh to be the
“ sole governor and commander of all persons who
“ shall travel, or be with him in the said voyage,
“ or in their return. And give him full power to
“ correct, punish, pardon, and rule them accord-
“ ing to such orders and instructions as the said sir
“ Walter Raleigh shall establish, as well in cases
“ capital and criminal, as civil, both marine and
“ other; so that the said proceedings, as near as
“ conveniently may be, are agreeable to the laws
“ of this realm, and to the Christian faith now pro-
“ fessed in the church of England. And because
“ in such enterprizes great inconveniences have
“ grown by mutinies and disorders for want of
“ sufficient authority, we give full power to sir
“ Walter Raleigh, in case of rebellion or mutiny
“ by sea or land, to exercise martial law upon just
“ and apparent necessity, in as ample a manner as
“ our lieutenant-general by sea or land, or our
“ lieutenants in the counties of England. And
“ we give sir Walter Raleigh full power to appoint
“ such captains, and other commanders and mi-
“ nisters under him, as shall be requisite for the
“ better ordering and governing his company.

“ We further command the wardens of the
“ Cinque Ports, customers, and other officers,
“ quietly to permit sir Walter Raleigh, and all who
“ shall adventure with him, to pass to the said
“ South or other parts of America, possessed and
“ inhabited as aforesaid, and to return with any
“ goods whatever, and to sell or otherwise dispose
“ of the same to the only use of him and his com-
“ pany; paying the fifth part of all gold, silver,
“ bullion, &c. as before, imported, and other
“ customs and duties aforesaid. And these presents,
“ &c.

“ &c. shall be to the said wardens, sufficient war-
 “ rant. And we grant to the said sir Walter Ra-
 “ legh, that these our letters-patents, or the in-
 “ rollment thereof, with all the grants, clauses, &c.
 “ therein shall be sufficient and effectual in law,
 “ any law, statute, &c. notwithstanding. Wit-
 “ nesses ourselves, the twenty-sixth day of August,
 “ in the fourteenth year of our reign of Englan
 “ France, and Ireland; and of Scotland the fi
 “ tieth. Per breve de privato sigillo.”

This abstract is made from the said commission, as it is printed in king James's declaration, and may agree with that which seems also to have been given us from the records. Whether there was originally any preamble to it, we cannot say. But there are authors who affirm, that in this commission king James called him his trusty and well-beloved sir Walter Raleigh. Though these may be words of course in such like instruments, yet, if some words were thus taken out in that recital aforesaid, it might give reason of inferring, that by the same liberty others have been squeezed in. Yet, even as it is suffered there to appear, it is surely far from being so clearly penned in point of those limitations, it is said in his majesty's declaration he promised the Spanish ambassador: for here is no limitation to any part of America, not only the south parts, but elsewhere being authorized, and all that are habitable, inhabited in some degree or other by heathen and savage people: so vague, so equivocal, and disputable is that distinction: not one word of Guiana, no owning of his own right, or the power he had lately given to plant there, no privilege for working any mine there, nor prohibition to meddle with the king of Spain's subjects there or elsewhere, as another

writer has well observed. On the contrary, full liberty to carry what arms and ammunition they pleased for defence, if they should need it; and lastly, the royal assurance of enjoying unmolested whatever they returned with.

In short, this commission must easily be observed to have been penned, how clearly soever pretended, as if king James neither knew of sir Walter Raleigh's intention for and at Guiana; though a little before, he had the whole particulars thereof from Raleigh's own hand, or that there were any Spaniards planted there; though he appears to have known that also from the Spanish ambassador himself, whose own kinsman, as we shall hear, was sent, during Raleigh's confinement from Spain, to build and colonize upon that very spot to which Raleigh had now this unlimited commission, as we may rather term it, to go. For, it is so much the reverse of that close penned letter wherein Raleigh had, so expressly, and so unreservedly, placed his whole trust of this voyage in king James, that it seems contrived, both to hoodwink the Spaniard till the action was over, though the king betrayed it himself, and secure loop-holes sufficient for the royal authority against his exceptions; but they proved so large, that it was thought expedient, in the end, as we shall find, that the commission should not be insisted on to limit or restrain any body.

Whether this indistinct power in that commission made Raleigh more or less importunate for his pardon, we cannot say. Some indeed write, that he laboured hard to obtain it; but they are led into that belief by the declaration aforesaid: whereas we find it expressly asserted, in a letter of Carew Raleigh's, that his father had overtures made him of procuring his pardon for fifteen hundred pounds,

pounds, by sir William St. John, one of the persons of whom he purchased his freedom, therefore one whose interest was the less to be doubted in this particular; but that sir Walter Raleigh conferring a little before his departure from England, with sir Francis Bacon (newly made lord-keeper of the great seal, and not long after lord-chancellor) upon this pecuniary pardon, he positively advised Raleigh against it in these words: "Sir, the knee-timber of your voyage is money; spare your purse in this particular, for upon my life, you have a sufficient pardon for all that is passed already, the king having, under his broad seal, made you admiral of your fleet, and given you power of the martial law over your officers and soldiers." But we are elsewhere told, that even for less than half that money before-mentioned, that is to say, "for seven hundred pounds the said sir William St. John, and also sir Edward Villiers (before spoken of) offered sir Walter Raleigh not only his full pardon, but liberty not to go his voyage if he pleased: and that he refused both; the rather because he was told by sir Francis Bacon (as above) that his said commission was as good a pardon for all former offences, as the law of England could afford him."

And now, near seven months after the date of his commission, began his fleet to appear, or rather that part of it which lay in the Thames, and consisted of seven sail. From the survey which was taken thereof by the appointment of Charles earl of Nottingham the lord admiral, on the fifteenth of March in the year last named, it appears, that the first of them, or admiral, a brave ship, as described by one who might probably have seen it, and built by Raleigh himself, was named the

Destiny, of four hundred and forty tons, and thirty-six pièces (or more) of ordnance; sir Walter Raleigh general, and his son Walter captain; besides two hundred men, whereof fourscore were gentlemen volunteers and adventurers, most of them sir Walter's relations; which number was afterwards increased. Second, the Jason of London, 240 tons, and 25 pieces of ordnance; captain John Pennington vice-admiral, fourscore men, one gentleman and no more. Third, the Encounter, 160 tons, 17 pieces of ordnance; Edward Hastings, captain: (no men more, except the master, mentioned) but he dying in the Indies, was succeeded in the command by captain Whitney. Fourth, the Thunder, 150 tons, 20 pieces of ordnance; sir Warham Sentleger captain, six gentlemen, sixty soldiers, ten landmen. Fifth, the Flying Joan, 120 tons, 14 pieces of ordnance; J. Chidley captain, 25 men. Sixth, the Southampton, 80 tons, 6 pieces of ordnance, John Bayley captain, 25 mariners, two gentlemen. Seventh, the Page, a pinnace, 25 tons, three rabnets of brass; James Barker captain, eight sailors. But, before Raleigh left the coast of England, he was joined by as many ships more; so that his whole fleet consisted of thirteen sail, besides his own ship. And, though we cannot be so particular in the remaining part, we may yet learn thus much of it, that one ship, named the Convertine, was commanded by captain Keymis; another, called the Confidence, was under the charge of captain Woolaston; there was shallop, named the Flying Hart, under sir John Ferne; two fly-boats under captain Samuel King, and captain Robert Smith; and a carvel, with perhaps another named the Chudleigh, besides.

With the former part of the fleet, Raleigh set sail from the Thames on the twenty-eighth of
March

March aforesaid, which was in the year 1617, and was soon after ready to proceed at the Isle of Wight, when several little accidents fell out to retard his progress; for he staid there some days for sir Walter Sentleger, whose ship, the Thunder, by the negligence of her master, was at lee in the Thames, moreover, after Raleigh was got to Plymouth, captain Pennington was not come to the Isle of Wight; and, when he did arrive, was forced to ride back to London to engage the lady Raleigh to pass her word for the money which was to redeem the bread for his ship, amounting to thirty pounds, without which he could not have gone forward; nor could sir John Ferne proceed till Raleigh had supplied him with a hundred pounds by his cousin Herbert, and procured him another hundred pounds of his friend Dr. Sutcliffe, dean of Exeter, having furnished himself with a third hundred before he came from Wales.

Raleigh staid also for captain Whitney, who had a third part of his victuals to provide; and, to assist him, Raleigh generously sold his plate at Plymouth, notwithstanding which, and Raleigh's having given him more countenance than any other of his officers, Whitney ran away from him at the Granadoes, and drew captain Woolaston with his ship after him. Raleigh had further the patience to wait ten or twelve days for captain Bayley, which he afterwards ungratefully requited by deserting also the fleet at the Canaries, for no apparent reason but Raleigh's refusing him a French shallop he took in the bay of Portugal; and yet, after Raleigh had bought her for fifty crowns, that the French might have no cause of complaint, Bayley might have had her if he desired it.

For these reasons he was forced to linger some months at Plymouth, losing thereby a fair wind,

and indeed the season of the year. The meanwhile he published, in May following, such orders throughout his fleet, as gained him great applause, for the regularity and instruction they established therein.

It was the end of June, or the beginning of July, before all his company joined him and he sailed from Plymouth: then being encountered with a violent storm some eight leagues to the west of Scilly, in which captain Chidley's pinnace was sunk, and captain King driven into Bristol; Raleigh held it, from experience as well as reason, the office of a commander of many ships, and those of different sailings and conditions, rather to take a port, and keep his fleet together, than to endanger the loss of his masts and rigging, or the advantage which enemies might take, or the loss of more time in attending another rendezvous, by the danger of a separation. Therefore he put into Ireland, and was obliged to stay seven weeks there; so that the winds only were to be accused now (as he observes) for their delay. And here, though by his credit he procured fifty oxen, which he distributed among his fleet, some of the crew spared not, at his return, to calumniate him for having taken care to revictual himself and none of the rest. On the nineteenth of August he set forward from Corke.

When he arrived at the island of Lancerota on the sixth of September, Raleigh sent a request to the governor, that he might be admitted to treat for some provisions: the governor sent back word, that he would confer with Raleigh himself, if he would come attended but by one gentleman, and armed only with their rapiers. Raleigh taking with him lieutenant Bradshaw, met the governor, who agreed, that if he would send up an English factor,

factor, whose ship then rode in the road, whatever the island afforded should be delivered at a reasonable rate. Raleigh sent the factor, but the governor procrastinated, and at last sent word, that unless he would embark his men which lay on the sea shore, the islanders were so jealous, they durst not divide from one another to supply him.

Raleigh complied; but when half his men were got aboard, the islanders began to offer violence to the rest. They slew one, and sent the factor to tell Raleigh, they would part with nothing to him; for that they believed his company to be the Turkish fleet which had lately destroyed Puerto Sancto. The English hereupon would have gone and helped themselves; but Raleigh considering what displeasure it might give at home, how the merchants might suffer, and the poor English factor be ruined, complained to the governor of the Grand Canaries; of whom he also desired leave to take water undisturbed; but instead of an answer, when he had landed about an hundred men in the desert part of the island where they found fresh water, an ambush was laid, by which one of his men was wounded to death, and more had been slain, had not captain Thornhurst and lieutenant Hayman, two valiant gentlemen, seconded by sir Warham Sentleger and young captain Raleigh, with half a dozen more, made forty of them run away. From this unavoidable fray, Bayley found pretence to withdraw, and go home again.

In want of water they sailed to Gomera, one of the strongest and best defended of all these islands, and the best port. The Spaniards, being seated upon the very wash of the sea, roughly saluted the fleet at its first entrance with their cannon, and the English returned their salutation. But, as soon as Raleigh recovered the harbour, and commanded

manded there should be no more firing, he sent a Spaniard he had with him ashore, to assure the governor he had no intention to make war with any of the Spanish subjects ; and, if any harm had been done by his great ordnance to the town it was their fault, who, by shooting first, gave the occasion.

The governor answered, he thought they had been the Turkish fleet aforesaid ; but having been certified they were Christians and Englishmen, and sought nothing but water, he was willing to let them take what they pleased, if he might be assured they would make no attempt upon the town-houses, or their gardens and fruits.

Raleigh replied, that he would give him his faith, and the word of the king of Great-Britain, his sovereign, that if the people of the town or island should lose so much as an orange or a grape by any of his men without paying for it, he would hang him up in the market-place. And Raleigh kept his men in such good discipline, that the governor, in divers letters (for he wrote to him every day) acknowledged how punctually Raleigh kept his faith with him, in regard to the inoffensive behaviour of his company ; and also how much himself was beholden to him for his particular civilities. For his countess, who was of English extraction, being a Stafford by the mother's side, and of the house of Horne by the father, having sent Raleigh some presents of fruit, sugar, and rusk, he returned others of greater value.

The earl moreover gave him, at his departure, on the twenty-first of September, a letter to Don Diego Sarmiento, the Spanish ambassador in England, testifying how honourably Raleigh had behaved

haved to the Moriscoes in these Canary islands during the fourteen days that he was among them. Before he set sail, he discharged a bark of the Grand Canaries, taken by one of his pinnaces, coming from Cape-Blanc in Africa; who, complaining that his men had eaten of their fish to the value of six ducats, Raleigh gave them eight.

After having weather'd through a violent hurricane, and some vast showers of rain, besides dangers no less fearful within; sickness now beginning to visit his ship, he arrived on the second of October at the isle of Bravo: and here underwent great hazards and hardships; beside the sickness daily spreading among his men. For whereas all those who navigated even between Cape de Vert and America, were accustomed to pass between fifteen and twenty days at most, he found the wind so contrary to him, and indeed to nature, so many storms and showers, that he spent near six weeks in the passage from hence; by reason whereof, and the burning heat of the climate, he was in great distress for water. Here losing anchors, cables, and water-cask, besides two more of his company, he was driven, after two days, by a kind of Tornado, from this island; which, as well as the others he touched at, before mentioned, he has well described in his journal of this unfortunate voyage.

After his return home, detraction did not spare to give out, that he went to Cape de Vert, knowing it to be infected, and thereby lost many of his men; whereas he was one hundred and sixty leagues from that cape, according to his own account, in his own apology; and had threescore men ill in his own ship before he came to Bravo, as we find it in his journal; though, if he had gone to that cape now, after the rains which had fallen,

fallen; there had been little danger of any such infection. All places that lie near great rivers, in low and moorish grounds, do indeed, as he rightly observes, subject their inhabitants to fevers and agues; as even along both sides of our own river Thames; and other infection is not found either in the Indies or in Africa, except when the easterly wind or breezes are excluded, and kept off by some high mountains from the valleys, whereby the air, wanting motion, stagnates, and becomes exceeding unhealthful, as at Nombre de Dios, and some other places. “But, says he, as good success admits of no examination, so the contrary allows of no excuse.”

Hence they proceeded, on the fourth of October, towards Guiana. But the sickness revisited them, and destroyed many of those whom the storms spared, carrying off numbers of his ablest men both for sea and land, no less than forty-two of his own ship ending their voyage with their lives, mostly in this month, at least before they reached the coast.

About the twelfth of the same month, when their sickness began to be at the height, and they at the greatest distance from any shore, they were many other ways also distressed; for, when they began to be in scarcity of water, they were also becalmed; yet ever threatened with extremity of tempestuous weather, from the strange and unusual alterations in the atmosphere. One while the horizon muffled, as it were, in such thick and fearful darkness, that they were forced to steer a day or two by candle-light; at other times, arched, and overshot with gloomy mists; so that watery rainbows were continually invading their eyes, or heavy showers their bodies, and dead calms retarding their ships. Afterwards at Tri-
nidad,

midst, Raleigh observed, besides two water-galls, no less than fifteen rainbows in one day, and one of them bent as it were both ends together, making a perfect circle; and these were ever followed with wet weather; for, as he also noted, especially of the morning rainbow, it did not here produce a fair day, as in England: but one good effect ensued, that when their water was so scarce, near the latter end of this month, that the ship's crew was reduced to half allowance, they saved some hog-heads, which fell from the clouds, and all quenched their thirst with great cans of this bitter draught, as Raleigh describes that rain-water to have been.

On the last day of this month, as he was raised abruptly out of his bed in a sweat, by the noise which a sudden great gust had occasioned in his ship, he got a cold, which turned to a burning fever, and cast him down for twenty days together; in which time he received no other sustenance than a few stewed prunes, but drank every hour, both day and night; and sweated so excessively, that he was forced to shift three times every day, and as often at night. At last the violence of his disease was abated by the oranges and other fruits he had received at Gomera of the governor's lady, which he had carefully preserved in sand, to his great refreshment; and without which, as he owns himself, he could not have lived: but it was double the time before he could recover, in any tolerable degree, from this sharp visitation.

In this slow and sickly manner they arrived, at last, on the eleventh of November, at the north cape of Wiapoco: and here Raleigh sent for his old servant, Leonard the Indian, who had been in England three or four years with him; but he was removed so far up in the country, that he was pursuing

purſuing him : therefore he ſtood away for Callana, which is in five degrees on the coaſt of Guirana, at the firſt diſcovery called Port Howard, where the caſſique was alſo his ſervant, and had lived with him in the Tower of London two years.

There he arrived in a day or two, having paſſed the iſland noted for its multitude of birds and ſilk bearing trees, and from thence ſent for his ſervant Harry, the Indian, who, with other caſſiques, came and brought him great ſtore of Caſſavi bread and roasted mullets, with plantanes, pinas, piſtacias, &c. but Raleigh ventured not to eat of the pinas, which tempted him exceedingly, till after a day or two's airing on the ſhore in a tent which was there pitched for him ; then he alſo eat ſome Armadillo and a little pork, and began to gather ſtrength.

Here alſo he landed his ſick men, and recovered many ; and here he buried captain Edward Haſtings (the lord Huntington's brother) who died ten days or more before ; and with him his ſerjeant-major, Hart, and captain Henry Snedale ; the charge of whoſe ſhip Raleigh gave to his ſervant captain Robert Smith of Cornwall. Here he alſo ſet up his barges and ſhallops, which they brought from England, in quarters, cleaned his ſhips, trimmed up his caſks, and ſupplied them with water ; fixed up a forge, and made ſuch iron works as they wanted. Thus on that ſhore, and in this river, they employed and reſreſhed themſelves for about three weeks ; during which time, Raleigh was very much careſſed by the Indians of his old acquaintance aforeſaid, and the other natives of this place, who cheriſhed him daily with the beſt provisions that the country yielded, and offered him all kind of obedience, even to the making him

him their sovereign prince and ruler, if he would abide and settle himself among them; so fresh continued his memory, and such unanimous impressions of homage and respect had his former behaviour still left upon them; which offer he mentions with the greatest modesty and indifference in the dispatch he now sent to England: for in this interval, captain Peter Alley, one of his company, who was much troubled with a vertiginous disorder in his head, having got leave to return home, and the opportunity of a Dutch vessel which lay there, Raleigh, among other letters, sent one by him to his lady, dated from Caliana the fourteenth day of November: Herein he says,

“ I cannot write to you but with a weak hand,
“ for I have suffered a most violent calenture for
“ fifteen days that ever man did, and lived; but
“ God, that gave me a strong heart in all my ad-
“ versities, has also now strengthened me in the
“ hell-fire of heat. We had two most grievous
“ sicknesses in our ship, of which forty-two have
“ died, and there are yet many sick; but having
“ recovered the land of Guiana, this twelfth of
“ November, I hope we shall recover them. We
“ are yet two hundred men, and the rest of our
“ fleet are reasonably strong, strong enough I hope
“ to perform what we have undertaken, if the care
“ at London to make our strength known to the
“ Spanish king by his ambassador, has not taught
“ the Spanish king to fortify all the entrances
“ against us. Howsoever, we must make the ad-
“ venture, and, if we perish, it shall be no honour
“ for England, nor gain for his majesty, to lose,
“ among many others, an hundred as valiant gen-
“ tlemen as England hath in it.”

Then

Then having spoken of Bayley's running away from him, the unnatural weather they had laboured through, and their tedious passage, with the present of fruits which had so much relieved him, as is before observed, besides the death of some principal officers, and recommendation of himself to some friends in London, especially his son Carew, he concludes thus :

“ To tell you that I might be here king of the
 “ Indians, were a vanity ; but my name hath still
 “ lived among them. Here they feed me with
 “ fresh meat, and all that the country yields. All
 “ offer to obey me.”

At this time also, a gentleman of his company having drawn up a discourse in praise of Guiana, and in honour of this adventure, especially of the principal discoverer, Raleigh himself, it being dated from Caliana November the seventeenth, sent it also into England by the same bearer, and it was printed the following year.

On the fourth of December they left this river, and came next day to the Triangle Islands ; but were all in danger of leaving their bones upon the shoals before they got thither : for they were laid aground, especially Raleigh's larger ship, for the space of twenty-four hours or more ; and, had it not been for fair weather, would never have got off the coast, having not above two fathom of water. Here, after a few days, when all the fleet was gathered together, it being considered in a general consultation, that Raleigh himself, who had grappled with the sickness for six weeks, and was now rather so much relapsed than recovered, that he could not move otherwise than as he was carried

carried in a chair, they resolved that there was no thoughts of his undertaking the passage up the Orenoque in person : and further, though they could never understand by Keymis, who was the first of any nation that had entered the main mouth of that river, nor by any of their mariners, who had traded there many years for tobacco, what certainty the water was of ; yet having found by experience, that ships at eleven foot water lay a-ground three days in passing up ; therefore there was no attempting it with Raleigh's ship, which being heavier, and charged with near forty pieces of ordnance, drew seventeen foot. Nor would his son with the rest have ventured, with the provisions they had, through any other person's assurance or resolution of staying to relieve them at a place appointed, against the forces expected to approach, but that of his father and their general. So it was resolved by all, that the five larger ships should ride at Punta de Gallo in Trinidad, under Raleigh, to secure their retreat ; and the five lesser (for this was now the whole number of his fleet) with five or six foot companies of fifty men each, should enter the river.

According to this determination, the fleet was here divided ; that is to say, captain Whitney, in the Encounter ; Woolaston, in the Confidence ; King, in the Supply ; Smith, in a pink, and Hall in a carvel. The companies had for their leaders, captain Charles Parker and captain North, brothers to the lord Mounteagle and the lord North ; young Raleigh ; captain Thornhurst, of Kent ; captain Pennington's lieutenant, who seems to be another Hall ; and captain Chidley's lieutenant, Prideux.

Sir Warham St. Leger, Raleigh's lieutenant, who had the charge of these companies, fell sick at Ca-

liana; so it was conferred on George Raleigh, sir Walter's nephew, who had served with great commendation in the Low-Countries; and captain Keymis had the chief charge for their guidance and landing within the river. But Keymis having laid down the plan of his intended attempt upon the mine, and undertaken to discover it with six or eight persons in sir John Ferne's shallop, Raleigh, upon consideration, disliking that method of procedure, determined to alter it, and therefore gave him particular instructions in what manner to pursue that enterprize.

Hereupon those five ships set forward, parting from Raleigh and the rest of the fleet at the islands above-mentioned, with a month's provision, on the tenth of December: but when they found a new Spanish town, called St. Thome, consisting of one hundred and forty houses; though lightly built, with a chapel, a convent of Franciscans, and a garrison erected on the main channel of the Ore-noque, about twenty miles distant from the place where Antonio Berreo, the governor taken by Raleigh in his first discovery and conquest here, attempted to plant; Keymis and the rest thought themselves obliged, through the fear of leaving the enemy's garrison between them and their boats, to deviate from their instructions, which enjoined them, first to carry a little party to make trial of the mine, under a shelter of their own camp; and then to deal with the Spanish town as it should give cause, by permitting or offering to prevent them. So they concluded to land in one body, and encamp between the mine and the town; whereby, though themselves were something stronger, their boats were subject to the same exposure, and the mine left untried, contrary to Raleigh's order: for, about three weeks after their departure, landing,
by

By night, it seems, nearer the town than they suspected, and meaning to rest themselves on the river-side till morning, they were, in the night-time, set upon by the Spanish troops, apprized and forearmed for their coming, as we shall see.

This charge was so unexpected, and struck the common soldiers with such amazement and confusion, that, had not the captains and some other valiant gentlemen made head, and animated the rest, they had all been cut to pieces : but the rest, by their example, soon rallying, made such a vigorous defence against the Spaniards, that they drove them to a retreat, till, in the warmth of their pursuit, the English found themselves at the Spanish town before they knew where they were.

Here the battle was renewed afresh upon them, being assaulted by the governor himself, Don Diego Palameca, and four or five captains at the head of their companies ; against whom, captain Walter Raleigh, a brave and sprightly young man, now twenty-three years of age, but fonder of glory than safety, not staying for the musquetiers, rushed foremost, at the head of a company of pikes, and having killed one of the Spanish captains, was himself shot by another ; but pressing still forward, with his sword upon Erinetta, probably the captain who had shot him, this Spaniard with the butt-end of his musket felled him to the ground ; and after these words, " Lord have mercy upon me, and " prosper your enterprize," young Raleigh spoke no more. Hereupon John Plessington, his serjeant, thrust the said Spanish captain through the body with his halbert. Two commanders more of the Spaniards were at the same time slain ; one by John of Morocco, another of young Raleigh's

Raleigh's company : and, lastly, the governor himself also lost his life in the said engagement ; which happened, as Camden reckons, the second of January.

The leaders being thus all dispatched, and many of their soldiers, the rest fled and were dispersed, some to shelter about the market-place, from whence they killed and wounded the English at pleasure ; so as they saw no way left to be safe, but by firing the town about their ears, and driving them to the woods and mountains, whence they still kept the English waking with perpetual alarms. Others were more careful to defend the passages to their mines, of which they had three or four not far distant, than they had been to defend the town itself. But for the magazine of tobacco, which one writer, among other erroneous representations of this voyage, thought might countervail the charge of it, could it with some other things have been preserved, it seems not to have been consumed by the English ; because Raleigh had enough thereof soon after to have paid for the victualling of his fleet, if there had been occasion, as himself has related.

All obstructions seeming thus removed, captain Keymis had now a fair opportunity to make what trial he pleased at the mine ; and that he did attempt the discovery will appear by the sequel.

During the time of this separation, Raleigh lay with the five larger ships under himself, captain John Pennington, his vice-admiral, one of the most sufficient gentlemen for the sea that England had ; sir Warham St. Leger, another valiant and worthy gentleman, sir John Ferne, and captain Chidley of Devon, mostly at Punta de Gollo, and other ports about Trinidad, no less than an hundred and fifty miles from the rest of his fleet, making the
adventure.

adventure up the Orenoque, yet in daily apprehensions of meeting with the Spanish armada, sent purposely to lay wait for and destroy him ; which it would probably have done,, after the great sickness which had so much weakened his men, and under this disadvantageous division of his ships, but that the enemy luckily waited for him in a wrong place. Besides, it having been falsely rumoured in his fleet, that he brought out of England twenty-two thousand broad pieces of gold with him, some of his crew traiterously conspired to sail away while he was gone ashore in his barge to take views and make discoveries of the country, which he was sometimes wont to do, as at Terra de Brea, or the Pitch-land, as he calls it, from the bituminous substance which so remarkably issues there, as he has well described ; and when he traversed some woods to seek the trees that yield that precious balsam, whereof he got a small quantity, which smelt like angelica ; so to have left him a prey to famine, wild beasts, or the no less unmerciful Spaniards, by whom he might have been fled alive, as other Englishmen, who came but to traffic, had formerly been. Add to this, the many provocations he received from the Spaniards, who were in any of the ports where his men landed, only to exchange a few commodities for tobacco or other products of the country, not only by the most opprobrious language, but discharging sometimes a volley of twenty muskets at a time upon them, whereby sir John Ferne had some of his men killed. And lastly, the uneasiness he was continually in, that he could hear no tidings of the rest of his fleet, thus detached upon the adventure : and though some Indians were brought to him in the beginning of February, by one of whom, who

could speak the Spanish tongue, he was first informed, that the English in Orenoque were reported, by some Tivitivas he had spoken with, to have taken St. Thome, and slain Diego de Palameca the governor, with captain Erinetta, and captain John Rues; that the rest fled; and that two English captains were also killed.

Though the same was soon after also asserted, with other particulars, by another Indian; yet Raleigh would not set them down till he knew the truth; which afterwards endeavouring to compass of other Indians, said to have been at the taking of that town, whom he sent in pursuit of them, they escaped, and he was not certified in the report, even near the middle of this month, for so far his own journal extends.

In the mean while Keymis made an attempt for the mine, and went upon the enterprize with captain Thornhurst, Mr. W. Herbert, sir John Hamden, and others; but had the mortification to return without effecting his purpose.

Whatever specious arguments Keymis alledged in his vindication, Raleigh was in no wise pacified with them. He utterly disavowed the whole conduct of Keymis before several of his company, and the ignorance he had pretended to them; told him, that a blind man might have found the place, by the marks and directions himself had set down under his own hand; and that his care of losing more men in passing the woods was but feigned; for after his son's death, it was known he had no care for any man surviving; and therefore, had he brought home but one hundred weight of ore, though with the loss of as many men, it would have given the king satisfaction, preserved his reputation, and encouraged a return
the

the next year, with greater force, to have held the country for his majesty, to whom it belonged; for the riches and fruitfulness whereof himself had formerly so largely attested. But since he had suffered his wilfulness, in spite of his knowledge, to defeat their whole undertaking, he should indeed be glad if Keymis could make those reasons for not opening the mine passable with the state, but that he himself could not justify the neglect.

Keymis grew deeply discontented hereupon, and continued so several days. “Afterwards he came “to me in my cabbin,” says Raleigh, “and shewed “me a letter he had written to the earl of Arundel, “excusing himself for not discovering the mine, “using the same arguments, and many others, “which he had done before; and prayed me to “allow thereof.” But Raleigh, no way satisfied, declared that, as Keymis could plead no ignorance, he could admit of no excuse, being wounded in his credit with the king past all recovery, and that this could admit of no reparation.

Keymis, seeing Raleigh resolved not to favour his folly, retired as one knowing not what course to take, yet expressing, perhaps, also some design of giving further satisfaction: “and went out of “my cabbin into his own,” says Raleigh; where having shut himself in, Raleigh soon after heard a pistol go off, and sending up to know who discharged it, Keymis made answer, he fired it himself, because it had been long charged. About half an hour after, his boy going into his cabbin found him dead, with much blood by him, having a long knife thrust through his left pap into his heart, and his pistol lying by him, with which it appeared that he had shot himself; but the bullet being small, and having only cracked a rib, he dispatched himself effectually with the knife.

After this accident it was determined, in a council of the officers, to make for Newfoundland, to repair and refresh their ships; but before, as well as after, they arrived there, great disorders arose: some took to courses of their own head, and ran away from him; and many others proved so refractory and ungovernable, that, when he came to the isle of St. Christopher's, he was forced, under the conduct of his cousin, Mr. Herbert, to ship them home.

By the time that Raleigh arrived on the coast of Ireland, the sacking of St. Thome, the firing of the town, and the slaughter of the Spaniards, to the number of four or five hundred men, were largely descanted on by his enemies, as by his friends were his own more particular misfortunes in the long and dangerous sickness he had endured; his disappointment in the mine; the consumption of so much treasure; the loss of his gallant son; the violent end of his old servant captain Keymis; and, above all, the general disorder, defection, and dispersion of his own fleet. All together, it became not so much a national as a universal topic of discourse and attention; every one censuring or commiserating as their interest or affections moved.

The Spanish ambassador having gained the earliest intelligence of all that had passed at Guiana; and how, among the rest, his own kinsman, the governor, had been slain, broke into the king's presence in a turbulent manner, and bawling out for his majesty's audience, only of one word, assaulted him with the abrupt and repeated exclamation of Piratas! Piratas! Piratas! At last he found breath and words to enlarge upon the matter so effectually, as what tended not only to the infringement of his majesty's promise, but that happy
union



union between the two crowns in their royal progeny; now the match between prince Charles and Dona Maria, with all the advantages it was pregnant with, was in such a hopeful degree of maturity, even to the involving of both nations in the most durable and dreadful hostilities, that the pacific king of Great Britain was ready to do any thing in the world to appease him and hush it up.

To this purpose, his royal proclamation was forthwith published on the eleventh of June, setting forth, That,

“ WHEREAS we gave liberty to sir Walter
“ Raleigh and others, to undertake a voyage to
“ Guiana, where they had pretended a probability
“ of discovering gold mines, &c. We did, by express limitation and caution, restrain and forbid
“ them from attempting any act of hostility upon
“ any territories or subjects of foreign princes with
“ whom we are in amity; and, more particularly,
“ those of our dear brother the king of Spain, in
“ respect of his dominions in that continent,
“ which, notwithstanding, they have, by hostile
“ invasion of the town of St. Thome, &c. broken
“ and infringed. We have therefore held fit to
“ make public declaration of our utter dislike and
“ detestation of such insolencies; and, for the
“ better detection and clearing up of the truth, we
“ charge all our subjects, that have any understanding or notice thereof, to repair to any of
“ our privy council, and make known their whole
“ knowledge, that we may thereupon proceed to
“ the exemplary punishment and coercion of all
“ such as are found guilty of so scandalous and
“ enormous outrages.”

The

The next thing to be thought of was, a proper and plausible instrument for the apprehension of sir Walter Raleigh when he should come ashore; such a one was sir Lewis Stucley soon found to be (and not sir John, as one writer erroneously christens him) who was vice-admiral of Devon (not lieutenant of the Tower, as the same negligent author mistakes again :) one who, though Raleigh's countryman, and, as all others but Stucley say, his kinsman too, yet most officiously undertook that charge, through the sordid prospect of profit; "so unnatural," says Wilson, "and servile is the spirit when it hath an allay of baseness; there being many others fitter for that employment." However, his orders were to bring up this great malefactor in a fair and courteous manner, according to his majesty's gracious and mild course, as it is called in his declaration.

When Raleigh had settled his affairs in the west of England, he began his journey to London, pursuant to his first resolution; but before he came to Ashburton, twenty miles from Plymouth, he was met by sir Lewis Stucley, who said, he had orders for arresting him and his ship. Raleigh answered, he had saved him the labour, and done it to his hands. He however formed a design of retiring into France, which he soon after dropped.

After this, Stucley received a warrant to bring up sir Walter Raleigh, but with no more speed than his bad health would permit; and he took to his assistance one Manourie, a French quack.

In their journey, they baited and lodged at several gentlemen's houses of Raleigh's acquaintance upon the road; from some of whom hearing,
more

more distinctly the nearer he approached it, what a storm his enemies had brewed at court, he began to regret his having neglected the opportunity he had at Plymouth of retiring: but after that pre-emptory warrant, which a pursuivant brought down for the speedy bringing up of his person, he began again to meditate upon a retreat; though, as he grew the more desirous, it grew the more difficult.

As they travelled between Andover and Stains, Manourie discovered Raleigh's intended escape to Stucley, who thenceforth used extraordinary diligence in guards and watches upon him; which Raleigh perceiving, nevertheless trusted Manourie with a new proposal at Stains in these words; "I see it is not possible to escape by our two means alone, Stucley is so watchful, and sets such a strict guard upon me, and will be too hard for us with all our cunning; therefore there is no way but to make him of our council; and if we can persuade him to let me save myself, I will give him in hand the worth of two hundred pounds sterling." Upon these words he drew forth and shewed Manourie a jewel made in the fashion of hail, powdered with diamonds, having a ruby in the middle, valued at one hundred and fifty pounds sterling; and putting it into his hands said, "Besides this jewel he shall have fifty pounds in money; pray tell him as much from me, and persuade him to it, I know he will trust you."

This overture being made by Manourie, Stucley after some parley, sent back word by him to Raleigh, that he would accept of his offer, and bad him tell Raleigh he was content to do as he desired; but would rather chuse to go with him, than stay behind with shame and reproach: directing Manourie

nourie further to ask, how this could be done without losing his office of vice-admiral, which cost him six hundred pounds ; also to what place they should go, how they should live afterwards, and what means he would carry with him to furnish this intended escape ?

Raleigh obviates all this with praying him to tell Stucley, That, if he would swear unto him not to discover him, he would tell him his whole intent ; and that, for the first point, though Stucley were to lose his office, he should yet be no loser ; that, as soon as he was got into France or Holland, his wife was to send him a thousand pounds ; and that he should carry with him only a thousand crowns in money and jewels to serve at present.

After supper, Raleigh is further represented so open, so contrary to all his former character, and beyond all manner of belief, as to say, “ Oh ! if
 “ I could escape without Stucley, I should do
 “ bravely ; but it’s no matter, I’ll carry him along,
 “ and afterwards dispatch myself of him well
 “ enough.” Then Manourie having apprised Stucley of all that passed, brought them together. Raleigh shewed the jewel, and probably delivered it, for Stucley shewed himself satisfied, and it was likely upon the acceptance of it, but desired a little respite to dispose of his office.

Manourie, having thus seen the agreement made, took his leave of them for London (the part designed for him ending here) after having said to Raleigh, he did not think of seeing him again, while he was in England. Raleigh, at parting, gave him, by letter to a person at Radford, an iron furnace, with a distillatory of copper belonging to it ; and charged him to tell every body he met, how sick he was, and that he left him in an extreme looseness that very night.

But



But as Raleigh had dispatched captain King to London with instructions to be in readiness for him, he kept moving on; when there fell out an accident which gave him fresh hopes to facilitate his escape: for, when he came to his inn at Brentford, he was met by a Frenchman, named La Chesnay, a follower of Le Clerc, agent from the French king, who told Raleigh, the said French agent was very desirous to speak with him, as soon as he got to London, about some affairs which highly concerned his safety. Accordingly, the next night after Raleigh was at London, the said Le Clerc and La Chesnay came to visit him at his house: and there Le Clerc offered him a French bark, which he had prepared for him to escape in, and withal, his letters recommendatory for his safe conduct and reception, to the governor of Calais; and to send a gentleman expressly that should attend and meet him there. But Raleigh understanding the French bark not to be so ready nor so fit as that he had already proposed for himself, gave him thanks, and told him, that he would make use of his own bark; but for his letters, and the rest of his offer, that he should be beholden to him, because his acquaintance in France was worn out.

With this passage and a word or two only of Raleigh's attempt to escape, after he came to London, it not being thought proper here to expatiate upon the arts used in betraying it, ends the tedious fardel of objections accumulated to render him unworthy of mercy in in the king's declaration, and the story ascribed to the obscure Frenchman aforesaid in it, but unconfirmed by any affidavit or evidence upon oath, which, in other such cases, have been thought necessary vouchers: therefore how far to be called heinous offences, acts of hostility,

stility, depredations, abuses of his charge, impostures and declensions of justice, the reader may now first give his own judgment, and then compare it with what has been said of these accusations by others.

And now comes on the remainder of captain King's narrative ; wherein he tells us, that from Salisbury he was sent before to London to provide a boat, and to lay her as low as Tilbury : and that he was also advised to put one Cotterell in trust who had been Raleigh's servant, for the provision of a wherry. As soon as King came to London, he dealt with Cotterell, who seemed as willing to do sir Walter service as himself ; but telling him of one Hart, who had been boatswain to the said captain's ship, and had a ketch of his own ; with him the captain therefore agreed, and gave him money to get it in readiness, having vowed secrecy upon the reward which the captain further promised him. But he had no sooner received the thirty pieces of silver, than he betrayed the design to Mr. William Herbert, who as suddenly divulged it ; but King, not suspecting any discovery, still fed Hart with money to keep the ketch at Tilbury.

On Friday night, which was the seventh of August, sir Walter Raleigh came to London, when captain King attended on him at his lodgings, but was told by Raleigh that he could in no wise get ready to go off that night. It seems to be the next day that Stucley got his warrant to indemnify him for any contract he should enter into with sir Walter Raleigh ; or to authorize his compliance with any offer he should make him for his escape ; or, in short, as others have not spared to call it, a licence to betray him ; for, though Raleigh might now have been secured in a direct and undisguised manner,

manner, yet the glory was to do it infidiously, and under the vizer of friendship; being not more suitable to the genius of predominant power, than necessary on the present occasion, to give room for so many more little circumstances of objection, as might occur to supply the place of one wanting, that should have been capital: and this night it was, that the French ambassador aforesaid came to Raleigh's house, and made the proposal before recited. But when captain King came to him again the same night, Raleigh said there was no going now without Stucley, whom he doubted not but **he should engage to go along with him, and that the next night, without failure, he would meet the captain at the Tower Dock.**

As for Mr. Herbert, aforesaid, he was employed in garrowing sir Walter Raleigh's house, as the captain phrases it, while Raleigh, being thus drawn out of it by Stucley, under pretence of bearing him company, might be the more unexpectedly seized, with all such private papers as he should have about him; in hopes, no doubt, that by one means or other, something might turn out to make a charge of sufficient weight against him: but, in the conclusion, all the papers which were found, proved to be no other than what might, without any discredit, have been laid open to all the world.

Captain King went, as he further tells us, on Sunday night, to the place appointed with two wherries; and sir Walter Raleigh also came thither, having put on a false beard, and a hat with a green hatband. He was accompanied with sir Lewis Stucley, young Stucley, and his own page. Then asking captain King, if all things were ready? he answered, they were, and that the cloak bag and the four pistols were in the boat. Stucley then

then saluted captain King, and asked, Whether thus far he had not distinguished himself an honest man? To which King answered, that he hoped he would continue so.

After they had entered the boats, and divided the pistols, they had not rowed above twenty strokes, before the watermen told them, that Mr. Herbert had lately taken boat, and made as if he would have gone through bridge, but returned down the river after them. This raised some apprehension in Raleigh, but upon Stucley's encouragement they rowed on; yet Raleigh, not well satisfied, called captain King near to him, who was in the other boat with young Stucley and Hart, and intimated, that he could not go forward unless he was sure of the watermen, whom he then also spake to, asking, whether if any should come to arrest them in the king's name, they would row forwards or return. At this the great boobies were so frightened, that they cried, and answered, they knew nobody there but captain King, who had hired them to Gravesend; and that they neither dared, nor would go any further. Raleigh said, that a difference with the Spanish ambassador, was the cause, that of necessity he must go to Tilbury to embark for the Low-Countries; and that he would give them ten pieces of gold for their pains.

Then began Stucley's part, cursing and damning himself, that he should be so unfortunate as to venture his life and fortune with a man so full of doubts and fears. He swore, that if the watermen would not row on, he would kill them; and persuaded Raleigh that there was no such danger as he suspected; of which opinion captain King also still was. Thus the time passed till they drew
near

near Greenwich, when a wherry crossed them, which Raleigh said came to discover them. King sought to dissuade him from this supposition, and told him, that if they could but reach Gravesend, he would hazard his life to get to Tilbury. These delays spent the tide, and the watermen said, it was impossible to get to Gravesend before morning. Hereupon Raleigh would have landed at Purfleet, and Hart would have persuaded him, that though it was night, he could procure him horses to Tilbury. Stucley appear'd very zealous for this proposal, and said, that upon that condition, he could be content to carry the cloak-bag on his own shoulders half a mile; but King told him, that if they could not go by water, it was impossible, at that time of night, to get horses to go by land.

By this time they had rowed as far as Woolwich, or rather about a mile beyond, which might be to a reach called the Gallions, near Plumstead. Here, approaching two or three ketches, Hart began to doubt, whether any one of them was his. Upon this, Raleigh concluded they were all betrayed, and bid the watermen turn back, hoping to have got to his own house before morning, and began to examine Hart very strictly, who pretended he had given his men express charge not to stir from Tilbury till he came down; but this would not induce Raleigh to proceed.

Before they had rowed back a furlong, they espied another wherry, and hailing her, they said they were for the king. Raleigh perceiving they were some of Mr. Herbert's crew, proposed to Stucley, seeing they were discovered, and in respect to his safety, that he might remain still in his custody, and that Stucley should openly declare to the watermen he was his prisoner, which he did. Here Stucley and he fell into private discourse, contriving how Raleigh might reach his house; and how Stucley might

save himself harmless, by saying, that he only pretended to go along with Raleigh, in order to discover his intentions, and seize upon his private papers. Then they whispered some time together, and Raleigh taking some things out of his pockets (whether more rubies powdered with diamonds, our author does not say) and gave them to Stucley, who all this while not on'y hugged and embraced him, as it seemed with the greatest tenderness, but made the utmost protestations of love, friendship, and fidelity.

When they were got back to Greenwich, Stucley said, that he durst not carry Raleigh to his house, but persuaded him to land, which they did; the other strange boat landing at the same time, in which the men, they perceived, belonged to Mr. W. Herbert and sir William St. John, the same who had made good profit of Raleigh before, as we have read. Upon Greenwich bridge Stucley told captain King it would be for sir Walter's good, that he should pretend he was consenting with him to betray his master. King, not able to fathom the depth of his policy, as he tells us, refused it, thinking he should not only thereby betray his own conscience, but make himself odious to the world; therefore, though Raleigh himself made some motion of it to him, he could not, how serviceable soever it might prove, be guilty of so much insincerity towards him. Then Stucley arrested the captain in his majesty's name, and committed him to the charge of two of Mr. Herbert's men. After this they all went to a tavern; and, by the way, captain King heard Raleigh say, "Sir Lewis, these actions will not turn out to your credit."

Raleigh was kept apart from King till morning, when, as they entered into the Tower, Raleigh said to him, Stucley and Cotterell have betrayed me ;

me; adding, for your part, you need be in fear of no danger, but as for me, it is I am the mark that is shot at. Then captain King, being forced to take his leave, left Raleigh to his tuition, with whom I do not doubt (says he) but his soul resteth. And so concludes his narrative.

Raleigh, as was before mentioned, was now prisoner again in the tower of London, being brought thither on Monday morning the tenth of August. About two or three days after, a committee was selected to examine into the forefaid escape, it being a matter luckily capable, and highly necessary to be enlarged upon, in order to fill up the measure of accusation. Such a premeditated flight was therefore declaimed against as a crime so heavy and so heinous, such a disdain or despair of his majesty's mercy, as was greatly to be expected could never obtain his forgiveness. Then again, for sir Walter Raleigh to alienate himself thus from his native country by means of a foreign power, was stretched out to the idea of a separation as horrid as the breach of some huge rock or promontory from the main land, when its foundation was sap'd and washed away by undermining waves.

The arguments Raleigh now returned to extenuate this mighty transgression, having been by no author transmitted to us, it is not impossible but they were, with the rest of his justification, before those commissioners, during the time of this his last imprisonment, industriously stifled.

Though all other events and motions in this expedition were now also racked and tenter'd by his adversaries; though the commissioners (who were perhaps the same, mentioned in a kind of oblique manner, at the end of the king's declaration, as witnesses thereof) came now constantly to the Tower, to pick out or catch hold of any thing that might contribute some plausible matter to

condemn him; yet, after the examinations, re-examinations, and confrontments of the most discontented persons in the late voyage, none of all the depositions upon oath, that are pretended to have been taken, or were really wormed out of them, were ever thought so material by the said commissioners, as to have been distinctly brought to light, either in that declaration or elsewhere, against sir Walter Raleigh. Much less may we expect to meet with any of the arguments urged by himself in his own defence during this inquiry, or close and private manner of sifting him from so many quarters. And yet, if they had been fairly presented to the public, it is not thought they could have given the world greater satisfaction, or have cleared him better, than what he had just before written, both in his letter to the lord Carew, and at the end of his apology, to prove the authority he had for the late action at Guiana, the integrity of his conduct in it, with the reason and necessity thereof. Wherein it appears, he absolutely depended on the honour of king James to continue now, as he had begun, the maintenance of his right to that country which Raleigh had lawfully possessed for the crown; at least, so far, as not to renounce or circumvent his own commission: otherwise, how well he knew, that if he made the least opposition to any resistance of his attempt, he was liable to be pursued as an invader; or if he returned with any gold, to be persecuted as a plunderer by the Spaniards; and if he did neither, that he was still no less liable to be accused as an impostor by his co-adventurers. But, in this latter respect, all suspicion was clearly removed, even from those who, by their losses in this voyage, would have been most readily prompted to make such reproach, when they found

found Raleigh prove himself as in these writings, to the face of mankind, such a far greater loser than any of the rest hereby, as was before observed : and, as for the other two objections, Raleigh has also made it no less amply evident in the same pieces, how glaringly he must appear to the world, a mere premeditated, or designed sacrifice to one of them, if king James should maim his sovereignty of its title to Guiana, or now disclaimed the undertaking there which he had before authorized.

For therein he has shewn, that his majesty was well resolved of his right in those parts bordering the Orenoque to the south, as far as the Amazons, by having formerly given the English leave to plant and inhabit there ; and that his own proposal to go thither, was not accounted of as what would endanger the peace, even by the Spanish ambassador, who pretended it to be needless that Raleigh should carry such strength with him, if he intended no other enterprize ; for that he should work any mine there without disturbance ; but had a good reason returned by Raleigh for that strength, from the example of sir John Hawkins.

Further shewing, that for the Spaniards to set up a town upon the Orenoque, was such a usurpation, and that their king should thereupon call himself king of Guiana, was as unreasonable as if he were to call himself king of Ireland, because he took possession at Smerwick, and built a fort there. Having also shewn, that no peace could be broken there by him, where no peace was maintained by the Spaniards, both from their bloody usage of the English, who had lately been to trade there, and from the words in the king of Spain's late letters to the governor ; “ who first called us enemies, “ when he hoped to cut us in pieces, says Raleigh,

“ and having failed, peace-breakers; when, to
 “ be an enemy and a peace-breaker in one and the
 “ same action, is impossible.” Moreover, that
 here the Spaniards began the first slaughter; that
 their town was not burnt by any knowledge or
 permission of his, nor his directions to the mine
 followed.

Lastly, having observed how little the Spaniards
 can endure that the English nation should look
 upon any part of America, being above a fourth
 part of the whole known world, tho’ the hundredth
 part was never possessed by the Spaniards; and
 withal, the many ill consequences of acknowledg-
 ing, that we have offended the king of Spain by
 landing in Guiana, even to the ruin of our navi-
 gation, trade, power, and dominion in this quar-
 ter of the globe, where there was as much room
 and reason for advancing the honour and riches of
 England as of any state in Christendom; he con-
 cludes his apology with these words: “ I have said
 “ it already, and I will say it again, that if Guiana
 “ be not his majesty’s, the working of a mine
 “ there, and the taking of a town there, had been
 “ equally perilous; for, by doing the one, I had
 “ robbed the king of Spain, and been a thief;
 “ and, by the other, a disturber or breaker of the
 “ peace.”

Now, it is plain, that king James so much
 waved his right to Guiana, at least till Raleigh was
 put to death (for then he assumed it again, by the
 power he gave for another expedition to those
 parts, however irresolutely, according to custom,
 he revoked it) that, as we observe in his declara-
 tion, not only the place which Raleigh went to is
 pretended to be out of his commission, but the title
 he stood upon, to be no ways compatible with it.
 Yet so incontestably did Raleigh make it appear,
 no doubt in his examinations at present, no less
 than

than in the writings above-mentioned, that if any peace could be broken where no peace had been maintained, it must either be by king James himself, in first granting a commission to plunder another prince (for he knew where Raleigh was going, and no where declines his knowledge that the Spaniards were settled there) and then betraying it to procure a defeat of the very attempt he had empowered; or else, by the Spaniards themselves, in resisting his endeavours to put it in execution; that after all this questioning, canvassing, and heaping up of allegations against him, the council could not think it justifiable to take away sir Walter Raleigh's life for all that had passed at Guiana. Yet, as he must be put to death, they found a way to appease the Spaniards with his blood, by making this last action at St. Thome the efficient cause, but the obsolete condemnation at Winchester, fifteen years past, the nominal cause of his destruction: as a course whereby both the law would be judicially satisfied, and the title be left, for fear of displeasure, undecided.

So in the whole, it was resolved there should be room enough to revoke the king's former mercy, as it appears in his declaration; and that Raleigh might lose his head upon his former attainder; notwithstanding the inconsistencies apparent in such a conclusion to men of penetration; among whom, Carew Raleigh has very well observed thereupon, that his father was condemned for being a friend to the Spaniards, and lost his life by the same sentence for being their enemy.

A method, however, at last being thus pieced out, the king, or those with whom he left the management of this affair when he went upon his progress, appeared very eager for bringing it to a period. Therefore, as the shortest way, a privy-seal was sent to the judges, forthwith to order ex-

ecution. But they, considering there ought to be some face of regularity in the matter, and a little finger in the court of justice to slide it off, with as much decency and smoothness as the business would allow of, demurred upon that extrajudicial manner of proceeding.

Therefore, on Friday the twenty-third of October, there was a conference held upon the form or manner how prisoners, who have been attainted of treason and set at liberty, should be brought to execution, between all the justices of England, as one of them, judge Hatton tells us ; wherein the question being put, Whether a privy-seal was sufficient, it being directed to the justices of the King's-Bench, to command them to award execution against sir Walter Raleigh ; or how they should proceed before execution be awarded ? It was resolved by all, that he ought to be brought to the bar, by habeas corpus to the lieutenant of the Tower, and then demanded, if he could say any thing why execution should not be awarded ? For the proceedings against him being before commissioners, they are delivered only into the court of King's-Bench, or they might have remained in a bag or a chest, and no roll made thereof ; and so long time passing, it is not a legal course that he should be commanded by a privy seal or great seal to be executed, without being demanded, what he hath to say ? For he might have a pardon, or he might say he was not the same person : as if one be outlawed of felony, and taken, he shall not be presently hanged, but he shall be brought to the bar, and so demanded, &c. Upon this resolution, a privy-seal came to the justices of the King's-Bench, commanding them to proceed against him according to law.

In what sense he was so proceeded against may be better understood by that notice, which on the
twenty-

24th of October, being the next day, Raleigh received from the commissioners to prepare for death : and, by his not being suffered, when he soon after appeared in court before the judges, according to law, to make any defence of himself for what had been the occasion of his coming thither ; as may be seen by the following abstract of the said proceedings.

On Wednesday, the twenty-eighth of October, sir Walter Raleigh, at eight o'clock in the morning, was awaked out of a fit of a fever, with a summons presently to appear at the King's-Bench bar at Westminster ; and, soon after nine o'clock, he was, by writ of habeas corpus, brought thither. The writ being delivered to the judges by sir Walter Apsey, and sir Walter Raleigh's conviction at Winchester read, the Attorney, Mr. Henry Yelverton, set forth,

That the prisoner, having been fifteen years since convicted of high-treason, and then received the judgment of death, his majesty of his abundant grace, had been pleased to shew mercy unto him, till now that justice called to him for execution. " Sir Walter Raleigh," continued he, " hath been
 " a statesman, and a man who, in regard to his parts
 " and quality, is to be pitied : he hath been as a
 " star at which the world have gazed ; but stars
 " may fall, nay they must fall, when they trouble
 " the sphere wherein they abide. It is therefore
 " his majesty's pleasure now to call for execution
 " of the former judgment, and I now require or-
 " der for the same."

Then the clerk of the crown, Mr. Fanshaw, having read the record of the conviction and judgment, the prisoner, holding up his hand, was asked, What he could say, why execution should not be awarded against him. Raleigh told the
 lords,

lords, His voice was grown weak by his late sickness, and an ague he had at that instant upon him, in which he was brought thither; therefore, as it appears in another copy of these proceedings before referred to, desired the relief of a pen and ink. But the lord-chief-justice, sir Henry Montague, telling him he spake audibly enough, he went on to this effect: That he hoped the judgment he received so long since to die, could not now be straitened to take away his life; since, by his majesty's commission for his late voyage, it was implied to be restored, in giving him power, as a marshal, on the life and death of others; and since he undertook the same to honour his sovereign, and enrich his kingdom with gold, "of the ore where-
 " of, this hand," said he, " hath found and taken
 " in Guiana."

Then beginning to mention by what unavoidable and unblameable means the said enterprize miscarried, the lord-chief-justice interrupted and told him, Whatever he spoke touching his voyage was not to the purpose; also, that his commission could be of no service to him; that treason was not pardoned by implication, and that he must say something else to the purpose, otherwise they must proceed to give execution.

Raleigh then finding whatever he should offer in vindication of himself would be to no purpose, put himself upon the king's mercy; yet gave some reasons why he hoped the king would take compassion upon him concerning that judgment which was so long past, in which both his majesty was of opinion, and there were some present who could witness, that he had hard usage.

The lord-chief-justice advised him to the wisdom of submission, and told him, he was called to grant execution upon the judgment given fifteen
 years

years since ; all which time he had been as a dead man in the law, but the king in mercy spared him; that he might think it heavy if this were done in cold blood ; but it was not so, for new offences had stirred up his majesty's justice to revive what the law had formerly cast upon him. " I know," continued he, " that you have been
 " valiant and wise, and I doubt not but you retain
 " both these virtues, for now you shall have occasion to use them. Your faith hath heretofore
 " been questioned, but I am persuaded you are a
 " good Christian ; for your book, which is an admirable work, doth testify as much. I would
 " give you counsel, but I know you can apply
 " unto yourself far better than I am able to give
 " you. I give you the oil of comfort," said he, " though in respect that I am a minister of the law,
 " mixed with vinegar."

Nay the judge further gave him, how unnecessary soever he just before owned it to be, one lecture upon sorrow. " Sorrow," said he, " will
 " not avail you in some kind; for, were you pained,
 " sorrow would not ease you; were you afflicted,
 " sorrow would not relieve you; were you tormented,
 " sorrow would not content you; and yet
 " the sorrow for your sins would be an everlasting
 " comfort to you." Then another also upon death. " You must do as that valiant captain did," said he, " who, perceiving himself in danger, said, in
 " defiance of death, Death, thou expectest me;
 " but, maugre thy spite, I expect thee. Fear not
 " death too much, nor fear death too little; not
 " too much, lest you fail in your hope; nor to little,
 " lest you die presumptuously: and here I must
 " conclude my prayers to God for it, and that he
 " would have mercy on your soul." So he ended with saying, " Execution is granted."

Raleigh

Raleigh then desired, that he might not be cut off so suddenly ; for that he had something to do in discharge of his conscience, something to satisfy his majesty, and something the world in. He desired further that he might be heard at the day of his death ; and concluded with calling on God to be his judge, before whom he should shortly appear, that he was never disloyal to his majesty ; “ which
 “ I will justify,” said he, “ where I shall not fear
 “ the face of any king on earth.”

Thus the manuscripts here chiefly followed conclude ; but, in the more ancient copy of these proceedings, Raleigh’s conclusion to the same sense is thus more copiously expressed : “ I most humbly
 “ beseech your lordships, that you will grant me
 “ some time before my execution, that I may settle my affairs and mind more than they yet are ;
 “ for I have much to do, both for my reputation,
 “ conscience, and loyalty ; and I would beseech
 “ the favour of pen, ink, and paper, to express
 “ myself something thereby, and to discharge
 “ myself of some trust of worldly matters that were
 “ put in me ; which leisure, I beseech you think,
 “ that I now crave not for to gain one minute of
 “ life ; for now, being old, sickly, in disgrace,
 “ and certain to go to it, life is wearisome to me :
 “ and I do lastly beseech your lordships, that,
 “ when I come to die, I may have leave to speak
 “ freely at my farewell, to satisfy the world only,
 “ that I was ever loyal to the king, and a true
 “ lover of this commonwealth ; for this I will seal
 “ with my blood.” So craving their prayers, he was led away to the Gate-house, near the Palace-yard.

The king was all this while retired, as it were, or at some distance, from this tragical scene, as if
 he

he meant to have diverted himself not only from the sight or report, but even the thoughts of it : yet what an effectual and expeditious hand he had in it, may further appear by his special warrant for the execution; which was produced ready signed, as if at Westminster, in a manner as soon as the sentence was over, being dated the same day, and directed to his chancellor Verulam. Herein his gracious majesty, dispensing with the manner of execution, according to his former judgment, and releasing him of the same, to be drawn, hanged, and quartered, says,

“ Our pleasure is, instead thereof, to have the
 “ head only of the said sir Walter Raleigh cut off,
 “ at, or within, our palace of Westminster; com-
 “ manding the said chancellor hereupon, to direct
 “ two several writs under the great-seal; one to
 “ the lieutenant of the Tower, or his deputy, for
 “ the delivery of sir Walter Raleigh to the sheriffs
 “ of Middlesex at the said palace; and the other to
 “ the said sheriffs for the receiving the said sir Wal-
 “ ter Raleigh from the said lieutenant, and for ex-
 “ ecuting him there; for which this to be his war-
 “ rant and discharge against us, our heirs and
 “ successors for ever.”

We find, about the same time, some petitions presented to the king in behalf of sir Walter Raleigh, which were strengthened with the solicitations of some persons in great power and esteem with his majesty; but shall not wonder at their having no effect with him, to mitigate this præemptory and rigorous doom, if it be true as an author, who had opportunity enough of observing his disposition, and abilities sufficient to form a clear judgment of it, has said thereof, with relation to sir Walter Raleigh, that “ king James had participated of
 “ the

“ the humour of a pusilanimous prince, as to pardon any sooner than those injured by himself.”

As for Raleigh, we find not that he harboured the least expectation or desire of a reprieve ; for that all the oppressions of age, sickness, obloquy, spoil and loss of all his means, besides the other indignities he now lay under, banished every wish of redress in the world, but by that dissolution which puts an end to all worldly miseries, appears pretty evident in the letter he seems to have written but a short time before his death to the king ; in which, he rather acknowledges some former tendencies to favour and compassion, than desires any repetition of them ; and gives a very good reason for having no further prospect of any thing substantial therein ; where he says, “ I have not
 “ spared my labour, my poor estate, and the
 “ hourly hazard of my life ; but God hath other-
 “ wise disposed of all, and now end the days of
 “ my hope.” But if the days of his hope had ended when he landed at Plymouth, the days of his life had probably been augmented to a much greater number.

The next morning, being Thursday, the twenty-ninth of October, and the lord-mayor's day, sir Walter Raleigh was conducted, by the sheriffs of Middlesex, to the Old Palace-yard in Westminster, where there was a large scaffold erected before the Parliament house for his execution. He had on a wrought night-cap under his hat, a ruff band, a black wrought velvet night-gown over a hair-coloured sattin doublet, and a black wrought waistcoat, a pair of black cut taffetty breeches, and ash-coloured silk stockings.

He mounted the scaffold with a cheerful countenance, and saluted the lords, knights, and gentlemen

1618 A Anno 1618. in the 77th year
 of his Age.

present. Then
proclamation by an officer for silence,
he introduced his speech with informing them,
That, as he was yesterday taken out of his bed in
a strong fit of a fever, which much weakened
him, and whose untimeliness forbearing no occasion
or place, he expected it again to-day; therefore did
first implore God, that he would preserve him from
the interruptions thereof at this time, and next de-
sired the audience, if any disability of voice or de-
jection of countenance should appear in him, that
they would impute it rather to the disorder of his
body than any dismay of mind. Then pausing a
little, he sat down, and directed himself towards a
window where the lords Arundel, Northampton,
Doncaster, with other nobles, were sitting, and
began his speech. But they being at some distance
from the scaffold, he apprehended they did not
plainly distinguish his words, therefore said, he
would strain his voice, for that he would willingly
have them hear him. To which the lord Arundel
answered, they would rather come down to the
scaffold; which he and some others did. Then sir
Walter Raleigh, having saluted them severally,
made a speech, in which he vindicated himself with
equal eloquence and strength of reason.

Proclamation being afterwards made, that all
men should depart the scaffold, he prepared him-
self for death, giving away his hat and cap and
money to some attendants who stood near him.
When he took leave of the lords and other gentle-
men, he entreated the lord Arundel to desire the
king, that no scandalous writings to defame him
might be published after his death. Concluding,
“ I have a long journey to go, therefore must take
“ my leave.”

Then

T H E
L I F E A N D D E A T H
O F
L O R D S T O U R T O N .

CHARLES, lord Stourton, was descended from the most noble, and right honourable, Charles Stourton, lord Stourton, of Stourton, in the county of Wilts; so created on the thirteenth of May, in the year 1448, the twenty-sixth of Henry VI.

Charles, the subject of this part of our history, was the son of William, lord Stourton, and Elizabeth, daughter of Edmund, and sister to John Dudley, duke of Northumberland.

This unhappy nobleman was hanged for murder in the reign of queen Mary, A. D. 1556; and, though justice was administered in the most arbitrary and tyrannical manner, in that bigotted age, it is universally acknowledged that lord Stourton deserved his fate. Mention is frequently made of him in the council-book of Edward VI. as being imbroiled with one Mr. Hartgyl, his neighbour; he was several times confined and bound over upon that account, as Hartgyl and his son were likewise: but, as Stourton had considerable interest in the council, he with ease procured his liberty; he had even the address to vindicate himself, though it was proved that he had opposed the sheriff forcibly when he came with the posse comitatus to take possession of an estate. Such partiality shewn to him
when

when guilty of so high a misdemeanour shews that the crime for which he suffered must have been of the blackest dye ; and indeed it is probable that a bigotted catholic would not have been sacrificed to justice in that reign, if any pretext could have been found to save him.

Lord Stourton being a violent papist, could have no opportunity of gratifying his resentment against Hartgyl (which was occasioned by a family quarrel) during Edward's reign ; as he therefore, in the beginning of queen Mary's reign, renewed his violences, the council, upon Hartgyl's application, interposed ; and, upon Hartgyl's consenting to live in friendship with Stourton, the latter ordered his followers to way-lay him and his son, as they were coming to pay a conciliatory visit at Stourton's house ; and it was with much difficulty that young Hartgyl, after being wounded, escaped with life.

This breach of hospitality, greatly aggravates lord Stourton's crime. Hartgyl came to visit him as a guest, and consequently he should, to use the emphatical words of Shakespear,

“ Against the murderer shut the door,
“ Not bear the knife himself.”

Stourton for this attempt was committed to the Fleet, and condemned to pay a large sum to Hartgyl ; but, upon his giving bond to surrender himself prisoner, he was permitted to go down to his own house for a short time. From thence he decoyed the Hartgyl's to meet him, under pretence of paying them the money in which he had been fined : and their weakness must have been equal to his treachery, or they would never have trusted themselves with a man whose baseness and perfidy they had before experienced.

No sooner did they appear in the church-yard of Kelmington, the place appointed, but Stourton ordered his servants to secure and bind them. He, with his own sword, cut in pieces the wife of the younger Hartgyl, who entreated him to spare her husband. His audaciousness was equal to his cruelty ; for, in the face of the world, and in defiance of justice, he led them bound through the country to his own house at Stourton, where he ordered his servants to knock them down with clubs, and he himself held the candle till they cut the throats of the old man and his son.

The murder being committed, he caused their carcasses to be buried fifty feet deep in the earth, thinking thereby to prevent discovery. But divine vengeance pursued the murderers, who probably never would have perpetrated so glaring a barbarity had they not relied on their merits with the government as papists. This is not the only example which proves, that the Romish religion has a tendency to render men cruel and sanguinary. It is universally known that murders have been always much more frequent in Roman catholic countries than elsewhere ; and this may probably be owing in a great measure, to the doctrine of absolution.

But to return to lord Stourton, the fact was too notorious to be denied ; he was therefore brought to his trial at Westminster-Hall, by a commission directed to the judges and some of the privy-council. At first he refused to plead, but the lord-chief-justice informed him that, if he persisted in his contumacious refusal, his being a peer of the realm would not save him from being pressed to death. Upon this he confessed the fact ; and sentence of death being pronounced against him, he was, in pursuance thereof, executed at Salisbury in 1557.

In consideration of his quality, a halter of silk was made use of upon this occasion. Four of his servants were executed at the same time. His monument is still to be seen at Salisbury, with the silken halter hanging.

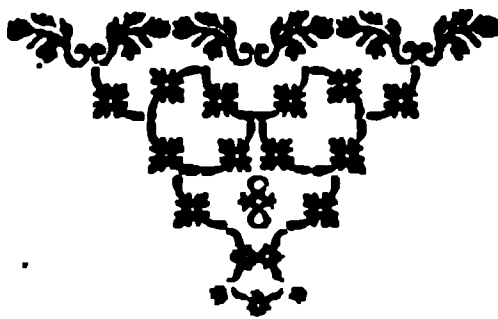
This singular mark of distinction shewn him upon an occasion which reduces the greatest to a level with the meanest, looks rather like an insult than an alleviation of his sufferings. It is somewhat like an expedient once devised by the emperor Galba, who, when he was governor of Spain, ordered a gentleman to be crucified for poisoning his guest. Crucifying among the Romans was the punishment of slaves; for which reason the poisoner murmured greatly, and represented it as highly unjust, that a person of his rank should be put to so ignominious a death. Hereupon Galba caused a cross of a larger size than usual to be erected, and covered over with gilding and paint; so that the gentleman who could not endure the thoughts of dying like a slave, had the consolation of hanging in state.

Indeed, when a nobleman is condemned to die in the same manner with the lowest of the vulgar, it appears altogether unnecessary to change some of the concomitant circumstances of the execution; and the choice of a late unfortunate nobleman was highly judicious in preferring a common halter to one of silk, which would only have served frequently to renew the memory of his unhappy catastrophe; a catastrophe which is likely to be remembered too long, though the instrument of his shameful death does not hang over his monument.

To return to lord Stourton, he married Anne, daughter to Edward Stanley, earl of Derby, and by her left three sons, John, Edward, and Charles,

whereof, John, being restored in blood by act of parliament, in 1575, was one of the peers who sat upon the trial of Mary, queen of Scots; but died without issue in 1588.

History affords no farther information concerning lord Stourton, whose barbarous murder and ignominious death have rendered him the object of public curiosity. It were to be wished his name had been buried in everlasting oblivion, since it is a blot in the history of our nation, and is remembered to the dishonour of nobility.



THE



WENTWORTH EARL of
STRAFFORD.

THE
L I F E A N D D E A T H
O F
THOMAS WENTWORTH.

SIR THOMAS WENTWORTH was the son of sir William Wentworth, baronet, and Anne, daughter and heir to sir Robert Atkins of Stowell, in the county of Gloucester, knight.

Thomas Wentworth succeeded his father in the title of baronet, and likewise in the baronies of Newmarsh and Overley. He was born on the thirteenth of April, 1593, seven minutes after three in the afternoon; and the famous Lilly, who calculated his nativity, has laid down astrological reasons for his violent death.

He was a person of most extraordinary accomplishments, which raised him to very signal honours and preferments. He at first distinguished himself amongst the king's opposers; for which reason he was, in the year 1625, made sheriff of Yorkshire, to prevent his being chosen member of parliament.

In 1626, he was put in confinement for refusing to contribute to the loan, then exacted by Charles I. In the parliament, in 1627, he signalized himself as a patriot upon occasion of the enquiry made into the grievances of the nation by the commons. The abuses which they took into consideration, were billeting of soldiers, loans by benevolence and privy-seals, imprisonment of gentlemen refusing to lend, denial of release upon a

habeas corpus; and, amongst many speeches made upon this occasion, none were taken more notice of than that made by sir Thomas Wentworth against the government.

He justly observed that those things were not to be imputed to the king, but to the projectors; that is, to the ministers, or others who had formed the design of stretching the prerogative beyond its due bounds; of whom he spoke in this manner:

“ They have brought the crown into greater
 “ want than ever, by anticipating the revenues :
 “ and can the shepherd be thus smitten, and the
 “ sheep not scattered ? They have introduced a
 “ privy-council, ravishing at once the spheres of
 “ all antient government, imprisoning us without
 “ either bail or bond. They have taken from us,
 “ what ? What shall I say ? Indeed, what have
 “ they left us ? All means of supplying the king,
 “ and ingratiating ourselves with him, taking up
 “ the root of all propriety.”

Sir Thomas Wentworth having, in this parliament, and upon other occasions, given several proofs of his zeal for the maintenance of the liberties of the people and the privileges of the parliament, became formidable to the court, though he took care not to run into any excess with regard to the king and his ministry. On the contrary, he softened his opinions by always speaking honourably and respectfully of the king; but, however he seldom failed to oppose the pretensions of the court.

As he was one of the greatest genius's then in England, the king could not but be sensible that his parts and capacity might be highly serviceable to him if he could gain him to his side. He endeavoured it therefore after, or perhaps before, the dissolution of the parliament, and succeeded so well

well that Wentworth became one of the greatest sticklers for the royal authority, or rather for the despotic power the king had a mind to introduce.

Upon this account the king thought him the fittest person to be entrusted with the presidency of the council in the north. He was at the same time created baron Wentworth, of Wentworth-wood-house; and, on the tenth of December following, viscount Wentworth of the same place, and was made one of the privy-council; in all which trusts he acquitted himself much to the satisfaction of his prince, whose revenue he greatly improved.

His next step of preferment was to be lord-deputy of Ireland, where he preferred learned and pious men who were attached to episcopacy. He moreover raised eight regiments for the king's service, each consisting of one thousand men; but before he had disposed these forces into necessary quarters, he was recalled to England, and made lieutenant-general to the earl of Northumberland, who commanded the army which was going to be employed against the Scots, who had then invaded the kingdom.

On the twelfth of January, 15 Charles I. he was created baron of Raby, and earl of Strafford; and was also made knight of the garter, on the twelfth of September, 1640; but things not succeeding well in Ireland under sir Christopher Wandesworth, master of the rolls there, whom he had left deputy in his room; and the parliament of England by this time entering into secret engagements with the Scots, the earl of Strafford's ruin was brought about not long after.

He was considered as one of the principal authors of the very great grievances, because he had so entirely devoted himself to the king, that, in
his

his two great offices of president of the court of York, and lord-lieutenant of Ireland, he had no other view but to stretch the prerogative royal, and increase the king's revenues. His proud and haughty carriage had given no less offence to the public than his actions, whereby he strove to establish an arbitrary power. He was therefore the first among those who passed for the authors of the grievances upon whom the storm fell.

On the eleventh of November, eight days after the opening of the parliament, Mr. Pym having desired and obtained his desire of the commons, that the doors of the house might be locked, and the outward room cleared of strangers, informed them, that there were several complaints against the earl of Strafford, which gave just grounds to accuse him of high-treason. The house having received this information, immediately appointed a committee of seven, who withdrawing into another room and conferring together, reported shortly after, that it was their opinion, there was just cause to impeach the earl of Strafford.

Then Mr. Pym was ordered to go to the house of lords, and accuse the earl of high-treason, in the name of the commons. He had orders also to tell the lords, that the commons would, in due time, produce the articles of accusation, and desired that the accused might till then be put in safe custody.

The earl of Strafford had that very day quitted the army, and taken his place in the house of lords. He had been apprized before he left the army that a design was formed to attack him: but whether through pride, or a persuasion that, having done nothing without the king's authority, he was secure, he slighted the advice, and would be present in the parliament. Indeed, some months before,

before, the king's protection was more than sufficient to screen him from all danger; but the face of affairs was changed, and it seems surprising that a person of so excellent an understanding could imagine that the king was able to protect him at such a juncture.

No sooner had the commons impeached the earl, but the lords committed him to the custody of the black-rod, and some days after sent him to the Tower. The process against the earl could not be ready to be tried till the twenty-second of March, 1640-1. The trial lasted till the twelfth of April, and then the commons, who had been present all the while, perceiving doubtless that the sentence would not prove as rigorous as they desired, resolved to proceed against the earl by way of bill of attainder.

They voted therefore, on the sixteenth and nineteenth of April, that it was sufficiently proved, that the earl of Strafford had endeavoured to subvert the fundamental laws of the kingdom, and introduce an arbitrary and tyrannical government into the realms of England and Ireland, and that consequently he was guilty of high-treason. On the twenty-first of the same month, the bill of attainder was passed, there being two hundred and four for it, and fifty-nine against it.

The bill met with so great opposition in the house of peers, that it was very doubtful whether it would be passed or thrown out; for which reason, on the twenty-fourth, was presented to both houses a petition, subscribed by above forty thousand inhabitants of London, setting forth the causes of their suspicions and fears: and, amongst others, that justice was not yet executed upon the earl of Strafford; and that there was reason to dread some secret plot against the parliament.

The

The twenty-eighth of April, the commons sent a message to the lords, that they had received information, that the earl of Strafford had a design to make an escape out of the Tower; that the guard about him was weak, and therefore desired he might be kept close prisoner, and his guards strengthened; to which the lords consented.

The first of May the king came to the parliament, and, in a speech to both houses, said, That, having been present at the trial of the earl of Strafford, he could not in conscience condemn him of high-treason, though he thought him guilty of misdemeanours: therefore he desired the lords to find some way to bring him out of this great strait.

The commons were very much troubled and discontented with this speech, and directly adjourned till the third of May; on which day a great multitude at Westminster insulted and threatened the lords, as they were going to the house, crying out justice! justice!

It was no easy matter for the lords to avoid doing what the commons desired. In the first place, they had inspired the nation with such a terror, that no one durst oppose their resolutions, for fear of being thought to have ill designs, and exposed to inevitable ruin. Secondly, the people still continued to flock about Westminster, and openly threatened the lords. Thirdly, the multitude presented the same day a petition to the lords, demanding justice against the earl of Strafford, and that their lordships would please to free them from the fear of a conspiracy. Fourthly, on the morrow, being the fourth of May, the people getting together again at Westminster in greater numbers than the day before, some incendiaries pasted up against a wall in the old palace yard, the names of
fifty-six

fifty-six members, and called them Straffordians, and betrayers of their country. Lastly, the same day the multitude presented to the lords another petition, saying that they understood the Tower was going to receive a garrison of men, not of the hamlets, as usually, but consisting of other persons under the command of a captain, a great confident of the earl of Strafford's, which was done to make way for the earl's escape.

Upon this petition, the house sent six peers to go and examine sir William Balfour, lieutenant of the Tower, about the truth of the matter. Balfour answered it was true he had his majesty's order to receive one hundred men into the Tower, and captain Billingsly to command them, and to receive only such men as the captain should bring to him; but understanding now their lordship's pleasure, he would receive no other guard into the Tower but the hamlet-men.

The lords further declared, at a conference with the commons, that they were drawing to a conclusion of the bill of attainder, but were so encompassed with multitudes of people, that they might be conceived not to be free; and therefore desired the commons to join with them, to find out some way to send the people to their homes. Then they debated the protestation which had before been drawn up in order to be signed by all the members; the purport of which was, that each member should do all that lay in his power to defend the religion of the church of England, and the priviledges of parliament; and should do all in his power to bring to condign punishment all that by force or conspiracy should do any thing against either.

This protestation being passed, and taken by four hundred and thirty-three commoners, and
one

one hundred and six lords, including the bishops and judges, the commons ordered Dr. Burgess to acquaint the multitude with the protestation taken by both houses, and that they were desired to retire to their houses. The multitude having received this information, departed.

Twenty-eight articles were exhibited against the earl of Strafford, which tended to prove, in general, that he had endeavoured to subvert the fundamental laws of the state, and set up an arbitrary power: so, though each of the pretended crimes of which he was accused, could not be accounted high-treason, the house would have it, that altogether manifestly shewed the end he drove at, and the means he had employed to attain it.

The parliament of Ireland was no sooner informed that the earl of Strafford was in the Tower, but they sent a committee of both houses to England, to lay before the parliament remonstrances concerning the grievances the Irish endured under that lord's administration. These remonstrances contained the very same charge asserted in the twenty-eight articles exhibited against him by the parliament of England.

The process was not ready to be judged till the twenty-second of March, 1640, and lasted till the twelfth of April. It would be too long-winded a work, to give a particular account of the proofs, depositions of witnesses, answers of the party accused upon each article, and replies of the commons. To give a general idea of the thing, it will suffice to say, in two words, that the impeachment runneth wholly upon the earl of Strafford's pretended intention to subvert the fundamental laws of the kingdom, the greatest part of the crimes he was accused of, could not be accounted crimes

crimes of high-treason, but on supposition of this same intention ; and therefore the managers of the prosecution insisted upon every one of the articles in order to prove this intention ; maintaining that, though each of them was not capable of proving it, they were, however, all together, a demonstration of the same : but, besides that each of these articles was not equally well proved, it remained also to decide, whether the intention could render a man guilty of treason. The council for the earl of Strafford maintained that, although by the law the bare intention of killing the king was high treason ; it did not follow that the intention could be considered in the same light, with respect to other kinds of treason, on which the law had not decided in the same manner. On the other hand, the earl of Strafford shewed, that none of the particular crimes he was charged with, could be deemed treason, and that an hundred felonies could never make one treasonable crime.

It is acknowledged that the earl of Strafford defended himself with all the ability, presence of mind, judgment and temper that could be expected from a person of his parts : so the commons easily found that the lords would very hardly be brought to condemn him ; and therefore they thought fit to take another course to attain their ends.

The nineteenth of April it was voted by the commons, that the endeavour of the earl of Strafford to subvert the fundamental laws of the realms of England and Ireland, and to introduce an arbitrary and tyrannical government in both those kingdoms, was high-treason. Two days after a bill of attainder was brought in against the earl. The bill was read twice in the morning, and the third time in the afternoon ; and passed with the majority

majority of two hundred and four against fifty-nine ; after which it was sent up to the lords.

Among the opposers of the bill, the lord Digby distinguished himself by a very eloquent speech, wherein he endeavoured to shew, that the condemning the earl of Strafford in that manner was a downright murder. Great exceptions were taken at this speech, and, though the house did not seem to take much notice of it at first, they ordered afterwards that it should be burned by the common hangman.

The bill of attainder had not presently the effect the commons wished : the lords were in no haste to examine it, or to answer the impatience of the commons. They had a mind first to weigh arguments for and against the bill.

In this interval it was that the peers caused sir William Balfour to be examined concerning the project of letting the earl of Strafford escape. Several thousands of inhabitants of London presented to both houses a petition against the earl, saying he was a sworn enemy of the city. The twenty-eighth of April, Mr. St. John made a speech to the lords to prove that the bill of attainder was not contrary to law,

On the first of May the king came to the parliament, and made the following speech to both houses :

MR. SPEAKER,

“ I HAD not any intention to have spoken to
 “ you of this business this day, which is the great
 “ business of the earl of Strafford, because I
 “ would do nothing that might serve to hinder
 “ your occasions : but now it comes to pass, that,
 “ seeing

“ seeing of necessity I must have part in the
 “ judgment, I think it most necessary for me to
 “ declare my conscience therein. I am sure you
 “ all know that I have been present at the hearing
 “ of this great case, from the one end to the other;
 “ and I must tell you, that I cannot condemn
 “ him of high-treason; it is not fit for me to
 “ argue the business; I am sure you will not ex-
 “ pect that; a positive doctrine best becomes the
 “ mouth of a prince; yet I must tell you three
 “ great truths, which I am sure nobody knows so
 “ well as myself.

“ First, That I had never any intention of
 “ bringing over the Irish army into England; nor
 “ ever was advised by any body so to do. Se-
 “ condly, That there was never any debate before
 “ me, neither in public council nor at private
 “ committee, of the disloyalty of my English sub-
 “ jects; nor ever had I any suspicion of them.
 “ Thirdly, I was never counselled by any one to
 “ alter the least of any of the laws of England,
 “ much less to alter all the laws. Nay, I must
 “ tell you this, I think no body durst ever be so
 “ impudent to move me in it; for if they had, I
 “ should have put such a mark upon them, and
 “ made them such an example, that all posterity
 “ should know my intentions by it; for my inten-
 “ tion was ever to govern according to law, and
 “ no otherwise.

“ I desire to be rightly understood. I told you
 “ in my conscience, I cannot condemn him of
 “ high-treason; yet I cannot say I can clear him
 “ of misdemeanours; therefore I hope you may
 “ find a way to satisfy justice and your own fears,
 “ and not press upon my conscience: yet I must
 “ declare unto you, that to satisfy my people I
 “ would do great matters; but this of conscience.

“ no fear, no respect whatever, shall ever make me
 “ go against it. Certainly I have not so ill deserved
 “ of the parliament at this time, that they should
 “ press me in this tender point, and therefore I
 “ cannot expect that you will go about it. Nay,
 “ I must confess, for matters of misdemeanours, I
 “ am so clear in that, that, though I will not chalk
 “ out the way, yet, let me tell you, that I do
 “ think my lord Strafford is not fit hereafter to
 “ serve me or the commonwealth, in any place of
 “ trust; no, not so much as that of a constable:
 “ therefore I leave it to you, my lords, to find
 “ some such way as may bring me out of this great
 “ streight, and keep ourselves and the kingdom
 “ from such great inconveniences. Certainly he
 “ that thinks him guilty of high-treason, in his con-
 “ science may condemn him of misdemeanours.

This speech had an effect quite opposite to the king's intention. The earl of Clarendon insinuates that the lord Say advised the king to it, in order to draw him into a snare, and render the earl of Strafford's ruin more certain.

Dr. Welwood informs us, in his memoirs, that, when Strafford was told, by his overjoyed friends, that the king had made a warm speech in his favour to both houses, he received it as his doom; and told them, the king's kindness had ruined him, and that he had little else to do, but to prepare himself for death.

Certain it is, that the commons were highly offended with the king's speech, saying, it was an unprecedented thing, that he should meddle with bills before they were presented to him, and that it had a tendency to take away the freedom of votes. Upon this they adjourned till Monday the third of May.

The

The bill of attainder against the earl of Strafford being passed by both houses, the king was in the greatest agitation and perplexity imaginable. He loved the earl, and was convinced that he had done nothing but what was conformable to his intentions and the maxims he would have introduced into the government. He might be guilty with regard to the people upon many accounts, but certainly he was not so with respect to the king, who had always approved of his conduct: besides, the king had protested in full parliament, that he could not, nor would, do any thing against his conscience, and he did not believe in his conscience that the earl was guilty. On the other hand, if he consented to the bill of attainder, after having declared that it was against his conscience, he would shew that he was reduced to this extremity by the necessity of his affairs, so would not be thanked for it, and for the time to come would be able to refuse his parliament nothing: but, if he rejected the bill, he plainly perceived the consequences his refusal might be attended with, and that, at least, he should be accused of denying his people justice, contrary to the advice of both houses of parliament.

It seems probable that, in this extremity, some one advised the king to dissolve the parliament; at least the commons imagined he had no other expedient left to extricate himself from the difficulty he was involved in; and therefore, to deprive him of this refuge, the same day, the fourth of May, they ordered the bringing in of a bill for the continuance of the present parliament, that it might not be dissolved without the consent of both houses.

The bill of attainder being passed, the king called his privy council together, and sent for his lawyers. He laid before them his scruples, and

the reasons which ought to prevent him from giving his consent to the bill : but Juxon, bishop of London, was the only person that ventured to advise the king to reject a bill presented to him by both houses. All the rest did their utmost to persuade him to satisfy his people, alledging that the life of any person ought not to be put in the balance with the safety of the kingdom. With regard to his scruples, they told him, that he might consult his bishops, who would give him the best advice.

The king, not meeting with the satisfaction he expected from his council, sent for some bishops to advise with. It is affirmed that Neile, archbishop of York, said to him upon this occasion, that there was a private and a public conscience ; that his public conscience, as a king, might not only dispense with, but oblige him to do that which was against his private conscience as a man ; and so, in plain terms advised him, even for conscience sake, to pass the act.

But what helped the most to determine him, was a letter from Strafford himself, who hearing the streights the king was in, humbly besought him to pass the bill, to remove him out of the way, towards a blessed agreement, which he doubted not God would for ever establish between him and his subjects : adding, that his consent would more acquit his majesty to God than all the world could do besides. To a willing man there is no injury. At least the king, no longer able to withstand the pressing instances of the parliament and his own counsellors, or rather the fear of the calamities he foresaw might befall him and his posterity, if he refused to consent to the bill, signed a commission to three lords to pass it in his name.

Notwith-



Notwithstanding the earl of Strafford's letter abovementioned, when the king sent secretary Carleton to him to acquaint him with what was done, and the motives of it, the earl seriously asked the secretary, whether his majesty had passed the bill or not; as not believing, without some astonishment, that the king would have done it: and being again assured that it was passed, he rose from his chair, lift up his eyes to heaven, laid his hand on his heart, and said, put not your trust in princes, nor in any of the sons of men, for there is no help in them.

An unwilling assent being extorted from the king for the earl of Strafford's execution, he was beheaded on Tower-hill on the twelfth of May, 1641, and suffered death with the greatest constancy and resolution,

Thus fell that illustrious personage; the greatest subject in power, not less in wisdom, and little less in fortune, at that time in the three kingdoms.

The following speech was delivered by the earl to the lord-primate of Ireland, and other lords, at the place of execution.

“ My L. Primate of Ireland,

“ IT is my very great comfort that I have your lordship by me this day, in regard I have been known to you these many years, and I do thank God and your lordship for it that you are here: I should be very glad to obtain so much silence as to be heard a few words; but I doubt I shall not, the noise is so great.

“ My lords, I am come hither by the good will and pleasure of almighty God, to pay that last debt I owe to sin, which is death; and, by the

bleſſing of that God, to riſe again, through the merits of Jeſus Chriſt, to righteouſneſs and life eternal.”-----Here he was a little interrupted.

“ My lords, I am come hither to ſubmit to that judgment which hath paſſed againſt me. I do it with a very quiet and contented mind : I thank God, I do freely forgive all the world ; a forgivenneſs that is not ſpoken from the teeth outwards, as they ſay, but from the very heart: I ſpeak it in the preſence of almighty God, before whom I ſtand, that there is not a diſpleaſing thought ariſing in me towards any man living. I thank God I can ſay it, and truly too, my conſcience bearing me witneſs, that in all my employment, ſince I had the honour to ſerve his majeſty, I never had any thing in the purpoſe of my heart, but what tended to the joint and individual proſperity of king and people ; although it hath been my ill fortune to be miſconſtrued.

“ I am not the firſt that hath ſuffered in this kind ; it is the common portion of us all, while we are in this life, to err ; righteous judgment we muſt wait for in another place, for here we are very ſubject to be miſ-judged one of another.

“ There is one thing that I deſire to free myſelf of, and I am very confident, ſpeaking it now with ſo much chearfulneſs, that I ſhall obtain your Chriſtian charity in belief of it ; I was ſo far from being againſt parliaments, that I did always think the parliaments of England were the moſt happy conſtitutions that any kingdom or nation lived under, and the beſt means under God to make the king and people happy.

“ For my death, I here acquit all the world, and beſeech the God of heaven heartily to forgive them that contrived it ; though in the intentions and purpoſes of my heart, I am not guilty of what
I die

I die for : and, my lord-primate, it is a great comfort for me that his majesty conceives me not meriting so severe and heavy a punishment as is the utmost execution of this sentence. I do infinitely rejoice in this mercy of his, and I beseech God to return it into his own bosom, that he may find mercy when he stands most in need of it.

“ I wish this kingdom all the prosperity and happiness in the world ; I did it living, and now dying it is my wish. I do most humbly recommend this to every one who hears me, and desire they would lay their hands upon their hearts, and consider seriously whether the beginning of the happiness and reformation of a kingdom should be written in letters of blood. Consider this when at your homes, and let me never be so unhappy as, that the least drop of my blood should rise up in judgment against any one of you, but I fear you are in a wrong way.

“ My lords, I have but one word more, and with that I shall end. I profess that I die a true and obedient son to the church of England, wherein I was born and in which I was bred. Peace and prosperity be ever to it.

“ It hath been objected, if it were an objection worth the answering) that I have been inclined to popery ; but I say truly from my heart, that, from the time I was one and twenty years of age to this present, going now upon forty-nine, I never had in my heart to doubt this religion of the church of England : nor ever had any man the boldness to suggest any such thing to me, to the best of my remembrance ; and so being reconciled by the merits of Jesus Christ my Saviour, into whose bosom I hope I shall shortly be gathered, to those eternal happinesses which shall never have end. I desire heartily the forgiveness of every man, for any

rash or unadvised words, or any thing done amiss; and so, my lords and gentlemen, farewell; farewell all the things of this world.

“ I desire that you would be silent, and join with me in prayer, and I trust in God we shall all meet and live eternally in heaven ; there to receive the accomplishment of all happiness, where every tear wall be wiped away from our eyes, and every sad thought from our hearts ; and so God bless this kingdom, and Jesus have mercy on my soul.”

Then turning himself about, he saluted all the noblemen, and took a solemn leave of all considerable persons upon the scaffold, giving them his hand.

After that he said, “ Gentlemen, I would say my prayers, and entreat you all to pray with me and for me.” Then his chaplain laid the book of Common-prayer upon the chair before him, as he kneeled down, on which he prayed almost a quarter of an hour, and then as long, or longer, without the book, and concluded with the Lord’s prayer.

Standing up, he espies his brother, sir George Wentworth, and calls to him, saying, “ Brother, we must part ; remember me to my sister, and to my wife ; and carry my blessing to my son, and charge him, that he fear God, and continue an obedient son to the church of England ; and warn him, that he bears no private grudge, or revenge, toward any man concerning me ; and bid him beware that he meddle not with church-livings, for that will prove a moth and canker to him in his estate. and wish him to content himself to be a servant to his country, not aiming at higher preferments.”

Aliter.] To his son Mr. Wentworth he commends himself, and gives him charge to serve his
God,

God, to submit to his king with all faith and allegiance in things temporal, to the church in things spiritual, chargeth him again and again, as he will answer it to him in heaven, never to meddle with the patrimony of the church ; for if he did, it would be a canker to eat up the rest of his estate.

“ Carry my blessing also to my daughter Anne, and Arabella ; charge them to serve and fear God, and he will bless them ; not forgetting my little infant, who yet knows neither good nor evil, and cannot speak for itself ; God speak for it, and bless it.

“ Now,” said he, “ I have nigh done ; one stroke will make my wife husbandlefs, my dear children fatherless, and my poor servants masterless, and will separate me from my dear brother and all my friends : but let God be to you and them all in all.”

After this, going to take off his doublet, and to make himself ready, he said, “ I thank God I am not afraid of death, nor daunted with any discouragement rising from any fears, but do as chearfully put off my doublet at this time, as ever I did when I went to bed. Then he put off his doublet, wound up his hair with his hands, and put on a white cap.

Then he called, “ Where is the man that is to do this last office ?” meaning the executioner. “ Call him to me.” When he came, and asked him forgiveness, he told him he forgave him and all the world. Then kneeling down by the block, he went to prayer again himself, the primate of Ireland kneeling on one side, and the minister on the other : to the which minister, after prayer, he turned himself, and spoke some few words softly, having his hands lifted up, and closed with the minister’s hands.

Then

Then bowing himself to lay his head upon the block, he told the executioner that he would first lay down his head to try the fitness of the block, and take it up again, before he would lay it down for good and all; and so he did: and before he laid it down again, he told the executioner that he would give him warning when to strike by stretching forth his hands; and presently laying down his neck upon the block, and stretching forth his hands, the executioner struck off his head at one blow; and taking it up in his hands shewed it to all the people, and said, "God save the king."

His body was afterwards embalmed, and appointed to be carried into Yorkshire, there to be buried with his ancestors.



T H E



Tinmouth's.

THE
L I F E A N D D E A T H
O F
W I L L I A M L A U D.

WILLIAM LAUD, archbishop of Canterbury, in the sixteenth century, was son of William Laud, a clothier, of Reading, in Berkshire, by Lucia, his wife, widow of Mr. John Robinson of Reading, and sister of sir William Webb, lord-mayor of London in 1591.

He was born at Reading, October the seventh, 1573, and educated in the free-school there; and, in July, 1589, went to Oxford; and in June, the year following, was elected scholar of St. John's College there, under the tuition of Dr. John Buckridge.

In June, 1593, he was made a fellow of that college; and on the first of July, in the year following, took the degree of bachelor of arts; and, on June the twenty-sixth, 1598, that of master of arts, being grammar reader that year. January the fourth, 1600, he was ordained deacon; and on April the fifth, 1601, priest: both which orders were conferred upon him by Dr. Young, bishop of Rochester.

In 1602, he read a divinity lecture in St. John's College, which was maintained by Mrs. Mag. May the fourth, 1603, he was chosen proctor of the university of Oxford; and September the third following was made chaplain to Charles Blount, earl of
ot

of Devonshire. July the sixth, 1604, he took the degree of batchelor of divinity.

December the twenty-sixth, 1605, he married the earl of Devonshire to Penelope, then wife of Robert, lord Rich; which action afterwards gave him the most sensible regret.

October the twenty-first, 1606, he preached a sermon at St. Mary's at Oxford, for which he was questioned by Dr. Airay, the vice-chancellor. November the thirteenth, 1607, he was inducted into the vicarage of Stanford, in Northamptonshire; and in April, the year following, was made chaplain to Dr. Richard Neile, then bishop of Rochester. September the seventeenth, 1609, he preached his first sermon before the king at Theobald's; and in October following, exchanged his advowson of North-Kilworth, for the rectory of West-Tilbury in Essex, in order to be near his patron bishop Neile, who, in May, 1610, gave him the rectory of Cuckstone, in Kent. October the second following, he resigned his fellowship of St. John's College in Oxford.

Finding the air of Cuckstone prejudicial to him, he exchanged it for the living of Norton; into which he was inducted in November, 1610, by proxy.

About Christmas, the same year, the lord-chancellor Ellesmere complained against him to the king at the instigation of Dr. Abbot, archbishop elect. May the tenth, 1611, he was elected president of St. John's College; but his election being called in question, it was at last confirmed by his majesty. The same year, on the third of November, he was sworn the king's chaplain. April the eighteenth, 1614, Dr. Neile, then bishop of Lincoln, gave him the prebend of Bugden; and, December the first, 1615, conferred upon him the arch-

archdeaconry of Huntingdon. In November, 1616, he was advanced by his majesty to the deanery of Gloucester, and attended him towards Scotland, from whence he returned a little before him in 1617.

He resigned his living of West-Tilbury, and was inducted into that of Ibstock, in Leicestershire, on the second of August, 1617. January the twenty-second, 1620, he was installed prebendary of Westminster, having had the advowson of it ten years the November before. June the twenty-ninth, 1621, the king gave him the grant of the bishopric of St. David's; to which see he was chosen on the tenth of October following, and resigned the presidentship of St. John's College on the seventeenth of November.

Shortly after, he contracted an intimacy with George Villars, then marquis of Buckingham; before whom, and the countess his mother, he had a conference with Fisher the jesuit, which confirmed their attachment to the protestant religion. January the twenty-first, 1622-3, he was inducted into the rectory of Creeke, in Northamptonshire, which he held in commendam with his bishopric.

In October, 1623, he incurred the displeasure of Dr. John Williams, bishop of Lincoln, then lord keeper of the great seal. April the seventeenth, 1623, he became deputy-clerk of the closet to king Charles I. for Dr. Neile, then bishop of Durham, who was indisposed, and executed that office till the first of May following.

February the second, 1625-6, he officiated at the coronation of his majesty, as dean of Westminster; the king having commanded bishop Williams, the dean of that church, not to be present at that ceremony. June the twentieth, 1626,
he

he was nominated to the see of Bath and Wells; to which he was elected on the sixteenth of August. In the beginning of October, the same year, he was made dean of the royal chapel; and April the twenty-ninth, 1627, was made privy-counsellor to his majesty.

On the fifteenth of July, 1628, he was translated to the bishopric of London; and, about this time, his antient acquaintance, sir James Whitelocke, a judge, used to say of him, that he was too full of fire, though a just and good man; and, that his want of experience in state-matters, and his too much zeal for the church, and heat, if he proceeded in the way he was then in, would set this nation on fire.

April the twelfth, 1630, he was elected chancellor of the university of Oxford. In May, 1633, he attended the king into Scotland; and, June the fifteenth, was sworn counsellor of that kingdom. August the fourth, the same year, upon the death of archbishop Abbot, the king resolved to advance him to the see of Canterbury.

The same morning a person came to him, and offered him to be a cardinal. This offer he rejected, saying, that something dwelt within him which would not suffer that, till Rome was other than it was.

September the nineteenth, he was translated to the archbishopric of Canterbury. May the thirteenth, he received the seals of his being chosen chancellor of the university of Dublin in Ireland, to which office he had been elected on the fourteenth of September, 1633. March the fourteenth, 1634-5, he was named one of the commissioners of the Exchequer, upon the death of Walton, lord high-treasurer of England. March the sixth, 1635-6, he procured the staff of lord-high-

high-treasurer of England for Dr. William Juxon, bishop of London. June the fourteenth, 1637, he made a speech in the Star-chamber at the censure of Dr. John Bastwick, Henry Burton, B. D. and William Prynne, esq.

In October following, he fell under the displeasure of her majesty, for complaining of the increase and behaviour of the catholic party. In the beginning of the long parliament, he was attacked on account of the canons made by the convocation in May, 1640; whereupon he wrote a letter to Mr. Selden, dated November the twenty-ninth, 1640.

December the sixteenth, these canons were condemned by the house of commons, as containing in them things contrary to the king's prerogative, to the fundamental laws and statutes of this realm, to the rights of parliament, to the property and liberty of the subject, and tending to sedition and dangerous consequence.

December the eighteenth, he was accused by the commons of high-treason; upon which he was committed to the custody of the usher of the black rod, and on the first of March to the Tower.

On the twelfth of March, 1643-4, he was brought to his trial, which lasted for twenty days, till the 29th of July; and, on the twenty-first of September, he made his recapitulation. November the thirteenth, a bill of attainder of him passed the house of commons; and January the sixth, 1644-5, it passed the house of lords.

He was beheaded on Tower-hill, on Friday, January the tenth, aged seventy-one years, thirteen weeks, and four days; and his body was interred in the chancel of the church of Alhallows, Barkin; from whence, in July, 1663, it was removed

moved to Oxford, and deposited in the chapel of St. John's College.

He composed several pieces besides his answer to Fisher.

“ He was of low stature,” says Dr. Heylin,
 “ but of a strong composition ; his countenance
 “ chearful and ruddy ; which chearfulness and vi-
 “ vacity he carried with him to the very block,
 “ notwithstanding the afflictions of four years im-
 “ prisonment. Of apprehension he was quick
 “ and sudden ; of a very sociable wit and pleasant
 “ humour ; and one that knew as well how to
 “ put off the gravity of his place and person, when
 “ he saw occasion, as any man living.”

The following is an authentic relation of the arch-
 bishop's speech on the scaffold, and other cir-
 cumstances attending his execution.

“ Good People,

“ THIS is an uncomfortable time to preach,
 yet I shall begin with a text of scripture, Heb. xii.
 2, Let us run with patience that race which is set
 before us, looking unto Jesus, the author and
 finisher of our faith, who, for the joy that was set
 before him, endured the cross, despising the
 shame, and is set down at the right hand of the
 throne of God.

“ I have been long in my race, and how I have
 looked to Jesus, the author and finisher of my
 faith, he best knows. I am now come to the end
 of my race, and here I find the cross, a death of
 shame ; but the shame must be despised, or no
 coming to the right hand of God. Jesus despised
 the shame for me, and God forbid but I should
 despise

despise the shame for him. I am going apace, as you see, towards the red sea; and my feet are now upon the very brink of it; an argument, I hope, that God is bringing me into the Land of Promise; for that was the way through which he led his people: but before they came to it, he instituted a passover for them; a lamb it was, but it must be eaten with sower herbs. I shall obey, and labour to digest the sower herbs as well as the lamb: and I shall remember it in the Lord's passover; I shall not think of the herbs, nor be angry with the hand which gathereth them; but look up only to him who instituted that, and governs these; for men can have no more power over me than what is given them from above. I am not in love with this passage through the Red-Sea, for I have the weakness and infirmities of flesh and blood plentifully in me: and I have prayed with my Saviour, *ut transiret calix iste*, that this cup of red wine might pass from me; but if not, God's will, not mine, be done; and I shall most willingly drink of this cup as deep as he pleases, and enter into this sea, yea and pass through it, in the way that he shall lead me.

“ But I would have it remembered, good people, that when God's servants were in this boisterous sea, and Aaron among them, the Egyptians which persecuted them, and did in a manner drive them into that sea, were drowned in the same waters, while they were in pursuit of them: I know my God whom I serve, is as able to deliver me from this sea of blood, as he was to deliver the three children from the furnace; and, I most humbly thank my Saviour for it, my resolution is now as theirs was then: they would not worship the image the king had set up, nor will I the imaginations which the people are setting up; nor will I for-

fake the temple and the truth of God, to follow the bleating of Jeroboam's calf, in Dan and in Bethel: and, as for this people, they are at this time miserably misled (God of his mercy open their eyes that they may see the right way) for at this day the blind lead the blind, and, if they go on, both will certainly fall into the ditch.

“ For myself, I am, and I acknowledge it with all humility, a most grievous sinner many ways, by thought, word and deed; and I cannot doubt but that God hath mercy in store for me, a poor penitent, as well as for other sinners. I have now, upon this sad occasion, ransacked every corner of my heart, and yet, I thank God, I have not found, among the many, any one sin which deserves death by any known law of this kingdom; and yet hereby I charge nothing upon my judges; for if they proceed upon proof by valuable witnesses, I, or any other innocent, may be justly condemned: and I thank God, though the weight of the sentence lie heavy upon me, I am as quiet within as ever I was in my life: and, though I am not only the first archbishop, but the first man that ever died by an ordinance of parliament, yet some of my predecessors have gone this way though not by this means; for Elphegus was hurried away, and lost his head by the Danes; and Simon Sudbury, in the fury of Wat Tyler and his fellows. Before these, St. John Baptist had his head danced off by a lewd woman; and St. Cyprian, archbishop of Carthage, submitted his head to a persecuting sword. Many examples, great and good; and they teach me patience: for I hope my cause in heaven will look of another dye than the colour that is put upon it here: and some comfort it is to me, not only that I go the way of these great men in their several generations, but also that

that my charge, as foul as it is made, looks like that of the Jews against St. Paul, Acts xxv. 3; for he was accused for the law and the temple; i.e. religion: and like that of St. Stephen, Acts vi. 14, for breaking the ordinances which Moses gave; i.e. law and religion; the holy place and the temple; verse 13. But you will say, Do I then compare myself with the integrity of St. Paul and St. Stephen? No, far be that from me; I only raise a comfort to myself, that these great saints and servants of God, were laid at in their times as I am now: and it is memorable, that St. Paul, who helped on this accusation against St. Stephen, did after fall under the same himself. Yea, but here's a great clamour that I would have brought in popery: I shall answer that more fully by and by. In the mean time you know what the Pharisee said against Christ himself, If we let him alone, all men will believe in him, et vent Romani, and the Romans will come, and take away both our place and the nation. Here was a causeless cry against Christ that the Romans will come: and see how just the judgment of God was. They crucified Christ for fear lest the Romans should come, and his death was it which brought in the Romans upon them, God punishing them with that which they most feared: and I pray God this clamour of venient Romani, of which I have given no cause, help not to bring them in; for the pope never had such a harvest in England since the reformation, as he hath now upon the sects and divisions that are amongst us. In the mean time, by honour and dishonour, by good report and evil report, as a deceiver and yet true, am I passing through this world, 2 Cor. vi. 8. Some particulars also I think it not amiss to speak of.

“ And first, this I shall be bold to speak of, The King, our gracious sovereign, he hath been much traduced also for bringing in of popery; but, on my conscience, of which I shall give God a very present account, I know him to be as free from this charge as any man living; and I hold him to be as sound a protestant (according to the religion by law established) as any man in this kingdom; and that he will venture his life as far and as freely for it; and I think I do, or should, know both his affection to religion, and his grounds for it, as fully as any man in England.

“ The second particular is concerning this great and populous city, which God blefs. Here hath been of a late a fashion taken up, to gather hands, and then go to the great court of this kingdom, the parliament, and clamour for justice, as if that great and wise court, before whom the causes come, which are unknown to the many, could not, or would not, do justice but at their appointment. A way which may endanger many an innocent man, and pluck his blood upon their own heads, and perhaps upon the citys also: and this hath been practised against myself, the magistrates standing still, and suffering them to proceed from parish to parish without check. God forgive the setters of this, with all my heart I beg it, but many well-meaning people are caught by it. In Saint Stephen’s case, when nothing else would serve, they stirred up the people against him; and Herod, when he went the same way, when he had killed Saint James, yet he would not venture upon Saint Peter till he found how the other pleased the people: but take heed of having your hands full of blood, for there is a time (best known to himself) when God, above other sins, makes inquisition

tion for blood ; and, when that inquisition is on foot, the Psalmist tells us, That God remembers (but that is not all) He remembers and forgets not the complaint of the poor ; that is, whose blood is shed by oppression ; verse 9. Take heed of this, 'Tis a fearful thing to fall into the hands of the living God ; but then especially, when he is making inquisition for blood ; and, with my prayers to avert it, I do heartily desire this city to remember the prophecy that is expressed, Jer. xxvi. 15.

The third particular is the poor church of England. It hath flourished and been a shelter to other neighbouring churches, when storms have driven upon them. But, alas ! now 'tis in a storm itself, and God only knows whether, or how it shall get out ; and, which is worse than a storm from without, it is become like an oak cleft to shivers with wedges made out of its own body, and at every cleft prophaneness and irreligion is entering in, while, as Prosper speaks (in his second book *De Vitæ Contemptu*, cap. 4.) Men that introduce prophaneness are cloaked over with the name religionis imaginariæ, of imaginary religion : for we have lost the substance, and dwell too much in opinion ; and that church which all the jesuits machinations could not ruin, is fallen into danger by her own.

“ The last particular, for I am not willing to be too long, is myself. I was born and baptized in the bosom of the church of England, established by law. In that profession I have ever since lived, and in that I come now to die. This is no time to dissemble with God, least of all in matter of religion, and therefore I desire it may be remembered, I have always lived in the protestant religion, established in England, and in that I come

B b 3

now

now to die. What clamours and slanders I have endured, for labouring to keep all uniformity in the external service of God, according to the doctrine and discipline of this church, all men know, and I have abundantly felt.

Now at last I am accused of high-treason in parliament; a crime which my soul ever abhorred; this treason was charged to consist of these two parts; an endeavour to subvert the laws of the land, and a like endeavour to overthrow the true protestant religion established by law. Besides my answers to the several charges, I protested my innocency in both houses. It was said, Prisoners protestations at the bar must not be taken. I can bring no witness of my heart and the intentions thereof, therefore I must come to my protestation not at the bar, but my protestation at this hour and instant of my death: in which I hope all men will be such charitable Christians, as not to think I would die and dissemble, being instantly to give God an account of the truth: I do therefore, in the presence of God, and his holy angles, take it upon my death, That I never endeavoured the subversion either of law or religion; and I desire you all to remember this protest of mine for my innocency, in these, and from all treasons whatsoever. I have been accused likewise as an enemy to parliaments: no, I understand them, and the benefit that comes by them, too well to be so: but I did mislike the misgovernment of some parliaments many ways, and I had good reason for it; for corruptio optimi est pessima; there is no corruption in the world so bad, as that which is of the best thing in itself; for the better the thing is in nature, the worse it is corrupted; and that being the highest court, over which no other hath jurisdiction, when 'tis mis-informed or mis-governed, the
subject

subject is left without all remedy. But I have done, I forgive all the world, all and every of those bitter enemies which have persecuted me, and humbly desire to be forgiven of God first, and then of every man, whether I have offended him or not, if he do but conceive that I have. Lord do thou forgive me, and I beg forgiveness of him : and so I heartily desire you to joyn in prayer with me."

The speech and prayers being ended, he gave the paper, which he read unto Dr. Sterne, desiring him to shew it to the other chaplains, that they might know how he departed out of this world, and so prayed God to shew his mercy and blessings on them: and noting how one Hind had employed himself in taking a copy of his Speech as it came from his mouth; he desired him not to do him wrong in publishing a false or imperfect copy. Which as Hind promised him to be careful of, calling for punishment from above if he should do otherwise; so hath he reasonably well performed his promise; the alterations or additions which occur therein, being perhaps the work of those who perused his papers, and were to authorize them to the public view, to fit it more unto the palate of the city faction, and make it more consistent with the credit of those guilty men, who had voted to his condemnation.

This done, he next applied himself to the fatal block, as to the haven of his rest: but finding the way full of people, who had placed themselves upon the theatre to behold the tragedy, he desired he might have room to die, beseeching them to let him have an end of his miseries, which he had endured very long. All which he did with so serene and calm a mind, as if he had been rather
B b 4
taking

taking order for another man's funeral, than making way unto his own.

Being come near the block, he put off his doublet, and used some words to this effect: "God's will be done; I am willing to go out of this world, no man can be more willing to send me out of it." And seeing, through the chinks of the boards, that some people were got under the scaffold, about the very place where the block was seated, he called on the officers for some dust to stop them, or to remove the people thence, saying it was no part of his desires, that his blood should fall upon the heads of the people.

Never did man put off mortality with a braver courage, nor look upon his bloody and malicious enemies with more Christian charity.

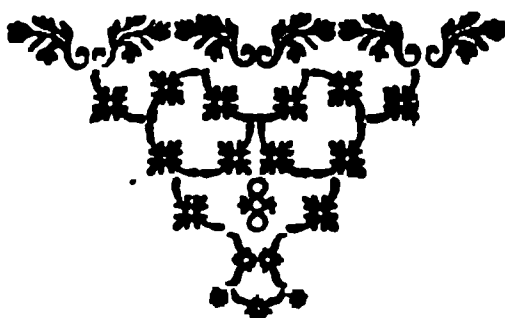
Thus far he was gone in his way towards Paradise, with such a primitive magnanimity as equalled, if not exceeded, the example of ancient martyrs, when he was somewhat interrupted in his quiet passage by one sir John Clotworthy, a fire-brand brought from Ireland by the earl of Warwick to increase the combustions in this kingdom: who, finding that the mockings and revilings of malicious people had no power to move him, or sharpen him into any discontent or shew of passion, would needs put in, and try what he could do with his sponge and vinegar; and stepping to him near the block, asked him, with such a purpose as the Scribes and Pharisees used to propose questions to our Lord and Saviour, not to learn by him but to tempt him, or to expose him to some disadvantage with the standers by, What was the comfortablest saying which a dying man could have in his mouth. To which he meekly made this answer, "Cupio dissolvi & esse cum Christo." i. e. "I desire
" fire

“**fit to be dissolved and to be with Christ.** Being asked again, What was the fittest speech a man could use, to express his confidence and assurance; he answered, with the same spirit of meekness, That such assurance was to be found within, and that no words were able to express it rightly. Which, when it would not satisfy the troublesome and impertinent man, who aimed at something else than such satisfaction, unless he gave some word, or place of scripture, whereupon such assurance might be truly founded; he used some words to this effect, that it was the Word of God concerning Christ, and his dying for us: and so, without expecting any further questions, (for he perceived by the manner of sir John’s proceedings, that there would be no end of his interruptions if he harkened any longer to him) he turned towards his executioner (the gentler and discreeter man of the two) and gave him money, saying, without the least distemper or change of countenance, “Here, “honest friend, God forgive thee, and do thy “office upon me with mercy;” and having given a sign when the blow should come, he kneeled down upon his knees, and prayed as followeth.

“**LORD, I am coming as fast as I can; I know I must pass through the shadow of death, before I can come to see thee; but it is umbra mortis, a meer shadow of death, a little darkness upon nature; but Thou, by Thy merits and passion, hast broke through the jaws of death. So, Lord, receive my soul, and have mercy upon me, and bless this kingdom with peace and plenty, and with brotherly love and charity, that there may not be this effusion of Christian blood amongst them, for Jesus Christ’s sake, if it be thy will.**”

Then

Then laying his head upon the block, and praying silently to himself; he said aloud, "Lord receive my soul;" which was the signal given to the executioner, who very dexterously did his office, and took it off at a blow; his soul ascending on the wings of angels into Abraham's bosom, and leaving his body on the scaffold to the care of men. A spectacle so unpleasing unto most of those who had desired his death with much heat and passion, that many who came with greedy eyes to see him suffer, went back with weeping eyes when they saw him dead; their consciences perhaps bearing witness to them, as you know whose did, that they had sinned in being guilty of such innocent blood."



T H E



T H E
L I F E A N D D E A T H
O F

King Charles the First.

CHARLES I. king of Great-Britain, France and Ireland, was the son of James IV. king of Scots, and Anne his wife, a daughter of Denmark. By his father descended to him all the rights, together with their blood, of all our ancient, both Saxon and Norman kings to this empire. For the lady Margaret, sister and sole heir of Edgar Atheling, the last surviving prince of the English Saxons, being married to Malcolme Connor, king of Scots, conveyed to his line the Saxon; and Margaret, daughter of Henry VII. married to James IV. brought the Norman titles and blood. From this imperial extract, he received not more honour than he gave to it: for the blood that was derived to him, elaborated through so many royal veins, he delivered to posterity more matured for glory, and, by a constant practice of goodness more habituated for virtue.

He was born at Dunfermeling, one of the principal towns of Fife, in Scotland, on the nineteenth of November, 1600; in so much weakness, that his baptism was hastened without the usual ceremonies wherewith such royal infants are admitted into the church; Providence seeming to consecrate him to sufferings from the womb, and to accustom him

him

him to the exchange of the strictures of greatness for clouds of tears.

There was no observation nor augury made at his birth, concerning the sequel of his life, or course of fortune (which are usually related of such whose lives have different occurrences from those of others in the same state. Either the fear of his death made those about him less observant of any circumstances which curious minds would have formed into a prediction, he appearing like a star that rises so near the point of his setting, that it was thought there would be no time for calculation: or he, being at a distance by his birth from the succession to the crown (prince Henry then having the first hopes) made men less solicitous to enquire of his future state, on whom, being born to a private condition, the fate of the kingdom did not depend.

But in the third year of his age, when king James was preparing himself to remove to the English throne, a certain laird of the Highlands, though of very great age, came to the court to take his leave of him, whom he found accompanied with all his children. After his address, full of affectionate and sage advice, to which his gray hairs gave authority, to the king; his next application was to duke Charles, in the year 1602, (for in the second year of his age he was created duke of Albany, marquis of Ormond, earl of Ross, and baron of Ardmanock) whose hands he kissed with so great an ardency of affection, that he seemed forgetful of a separation. The king, to correct his supposed mistake, advised him to a more present observance of prince Henry, as the heir of his crown, of whom he had taken little notice. The old laird answered that he knew well enough what
he

he did, and that It was this child (who was then in his nurse's arms) who should convey his name and memory to the succeeding ages. This then was conceived dotage, but the event gave it the credit of a prophecy, and confirmed that opinion, That some long-experienced souls in the world, before their dislodging, arrive to the height of prophetic spirits.

In the year 1603, when he was three years old, he was committed to the care of sir Robert Cary's lady, as a reward for being the first messenger of queen Elizabeth's death, whose long life had worn the expectation of the Scottish nobility into a suspicion, That the lords of England would never acknowledge her to be dead as long as there was any old woman of that nation, that could wear good cloaths, and personate the majesty of a queen.

In the fourth year, 1604, after he had struggled with a fever, he was brought in October to the English court at Windsor, where, on the sixth of January following, having the day before been made a knight of the Bath, he was invested with the title of duke of York; and in the sixth year, 1606, was committed to the tuition of Mr. Thomas Murray, a person well qualified to that office, tho' a favourer of presbytery.

Under this tutor, and confined to a retiredness by the present weakness of his body, he was so diligent and studious, that he far advanced in all that kind of learning which is necessary for a prince; without which, even their natural endowments seem rough and unpleasant in despite of the splendor of their fortune. His proficiency in letters was so eminent, that prince Henry taking notice of it, to put a jest upon him, one day put the cap of the archbishop-abbot, (who was then, with the prince, and

and the duke, and other of the nobility, waiting in the privy-chamber for the king's coming out) on his brother's head; adding that, if he continued a good boy, and followed his book, he would make him one day archbishop of Canterbury: which the child took in such disdain, that he threw the cap on the ground; and trampled it under his feet with so much eagerness, that he could hardly be restrained. This passage was afterwards taken by some overcurious as a presage of the ruin of episcopacy by his power: but the event shewed it was not ominous to the order, but to the person of the archbishop, whom in his reign he suspended from the administration of his office.

In his eleventh year, 1611, he was made knight of the garter; and in the twelfth, prince Henry dying on the sixth of November, 1612, he succeeded him in the dukedom of Cornwall and the regalities thereof: and attended his funeral as chief mourner, on the seventh of December.

On the fourteenth of February following, he performed the office of brideman to the princess Elizabeth his sister, who on that day was married to Frederick V. prince elector palatine; the gayeties of which day were afterwards attended with many fatal cares and expences.

His childhood was blemished with a supposed obstinacy; for the weakness of his body inclining him to retirements, and the imperfections of his speech rendering discourse tedious and unpleasant, he was suspected to be somewhat perverse: but more age and strength fitting him for manlike exercises, and the public hopes calling him from his privacies, he delivered the world of such fears: for applying himself to action, he grew so perfect in vaulting, riding the great horse, running at the ring, shooting in cross-bows, muskets, and sometimes

times in places of chance, that, if principality had been the reward of excellency in those arts, he would have had a title to the crown this way also; being thought the best marksman and most graceful manager of the great horse in the three kingdoms. His tenacious humor he left with his retirements, none being more desirous of good counsel, nor any more obsequious when he found it.

When he was sixteen years old, on the third of November, 1616, he was created prince of Wales, earl of Chester and Flint, the revenues thereof being assigned to maintain his court, which was then formed for him: and being advanced in years and state, it was expected that he should no longer retain the modesty which the shades of his privacy had accustomed him to, but now appear as the immediate instrument of empire, and that by him the favours and honours of the court should be derived to others. But, though Providence had changed all about, yet it had changed nothing without him; and he thought it glory enough to be great without the diminution of others; for he left the administration of affairs to his father's favourites.

In the year 1618, the evenness of his spirit was discovered in the loss of his mother, whose death (presaged, as some thought, by the comet which appeared on the eighteenth of November before) happened on the second of March, in the same year, which he lamented with a just measure of grief, without any affected sorrow.

The death of the queen was soon after followed with a sharp sickness of the king, wherein his life seeming in danger, the consequences of his death began to be lamented. Dr. Andrews, then bishop of Ely, bewailed the sad condition of the church, if

if God should at that time determine the days of the king ; the prince being at that time only conversant with Scotsmen, which made up the greatest part of his family, and were ill affected to the government and worship of the church of England. Of this the king became so sensible, that he made a vow, If God should please to restore his health, he would so instruct the prince in the controversies of religion, as should secure his affections to the present establishment : which he did with so much success, as he assured the chaplains who were to wait on the prince in Spain, that he was able to moderate in any important disputations, which yet he charged them to decline if possible : at which they smiling, he earnestly added, That Charles should manage a point in controversy with the best studied divine of them all.

In his nineteenth year, 1619, on the twenty-fourth of March, which was the anniversary of king James's coming to the crown of England, he performed a justing at White-Hall, together with several of the nobility, wherein he acquitted himself with a bravery equal to his dignity ; and on the Sunday following, attending his father to the sermon at St. Paul's Cross, and to the service in the choir, he shewed as much humble devotion there, as he had manifested princely gallantry in his justs ; admired and applauded by the people for his accomplishments in the arts both of war and peace : that he could behave himself humbly towards his God, and bravely towards his enemy ; pleased with the vigor of his body, and ravished with his generous mind.

In the year 1622, confident in these and other proofs of a wise conduct, the king, without acquainting his council, sends the prince into Spain, there to contract a marriage with the infanta; and,

Go forward 16 Leaves. ^{as}

by writs to that effect. Which counsel being embraced, there were writs directed to the several counties for such a contribution; that in the whole might build, furnish and maintain forty-seven ships for the safety of the kingdom: and by these the king soon secured and calmed the seas; but the faction endeavoured to raise a tempest at land.

In the year 1635, they complained of invasions on their spiritual liberties, because the bishops endeavoured in these years to reduce the ceremonies of the church to their primitive observance, of which a long prosperity had made them negligent; and time had done that to the spiritual body which it doth to the natural, daily amassed those corruptions which at length will stand in need of cure. Therefore, when they took this proper method of reforming a corrupted state, in bringing things back to their original institution, both his majesty and they were defamed with designs of popery.

This tax of ship-money was pretended a breach to their civil liberties, and contrary to law, because not levied by a parliament. Therefore those who sought the people's favour to alter the present government, by seeming the singular patrons of their rights, refused to pay the tax, (anno 1636) and stood it out to a trial at law. The just prince declined not the trial, and permitted monarchy and liberty to plead at the same bar.

All the judges of the land justified by their subscriptions, that it was legal for the king to levy such a tax; and their subscriptions were enrolled in all the courts of Westminster-Hall; and when it came to be argued in the exchequer-chamber, ten of them absolutely declared for it: only two, Crooke and Hutton, openly dissented from that opinion to which they had formerly subscribed,

not without the ignominy of levity unbeseeming their places : and, as the king was thus vigorous in the law, so was he at sea ; having curbed the pirates, he also reduced the Hollanders to a precarious use of his seas.

Amidst these difficulties and calumnies, the king hitherto had so governed, that sober men could not pray for, nor Heaven grant in mercy to a people any greater happiness than what his reign afforded. The British empire never flourished more with magnificent edifices ; the trade of the nation had brought the wealth of the Indies home to our doors ; learning and all good sciences were so encouraged, that they grew to admiration, and many arts of the ancients, buried and forgotten by time, were revived again ; no subjects under the sun ever were richer, and, which was the effect of that : none prouder. Security encreased the husbandman's stock, and justice preserved his life ; none being condemned to death, but by the lawful verdict of those of an equal condition, the jury of his peers. The poor might reverence, but needed not fear the great ; and the great, though he might despise, yet could not injure, his more obscure neighbour : and all things were so administered, that they seemed to conspire to the public good ; except that they made our happiness too much the cause of all civil commotions, and brought our felicity to that height, that by the necessity of human nature, which hath placed all things in motion, it must necessarily decline : and God, provoked by our sins, no longer restrained the arts and fury of some wicked men who, contemning their present certain enjoyments, hoped for more wicked acquisitions in public troubles, to overwhelm every part of the king's dominions with a deluge of blood and misery, and to com-
mence

mence that war which, as it was horrid with much slaughter, so it was memorable by the proofs of his majesty's virtues; confusions, like winds, from every coast at once assailing and trying his righteous soul.

The first storm arose from the north, and the flame first broke out in Scotland, where those lords who feared they should lose their spoils of religion and majesty, took all occasions to hasten the public misery, by calumniating the king's government, raising fears of tyranny and idolatry, forming and spreading seditious libels. The author, or at least the abettor, one of which was found to be the lord Balmerino, a traitor by nature, being the son of one who had before deserved death for his treasons to king James, yet found that mercy from him as the son now did from king Charles, to have his life and estate continued after condemnation. Yet this perfidious man interpreted the king's clemency for his own virtue; and he that had dared such a crime, could not be changed by the pardon of it; and, as if he had rather received an injury than life, he was the most active in the ensuing rebellion.

The rabble, that delights in tumults, were incited by this and other incendiaries, to any occasion of contemning the king's authority; and at last took fire from the Liturgy, something differing from ours, which some Scottish bishops had composed and presented to the king for the use of their church; which the king, who was desirous that those who were united under his command, might not be divided in worship, confirmed, and appointed to be first read on the thirteenth of July at Edinburgh, a city always pregnant with suspicions and false rumours. But it was received with

should do the like, according to the articles of agreement.

But they being delivered from fear, would not be restrained by shame from breaking their faith: for no sooner had the king disbanded his army, but they protested against the pacification, printed many copies of it, that might represent it dishonourable to the king, retained their officers in pay, changed the old form of holding parliaments, invaded the prerogative of the crown, and solicited the French king for an aid of men and money.

In the year 1640, the king prepared to raise another army, and in order thereto called a parliament in Ireland, and another in England, for assistance against the rebels in Scotland. The Irish granted money to raise and pay eight thousand men in arms, and furnish them with ammunition. Yet this example, with the king's account of the injuries done to him and this nation by the Scots, and his promise of for ever acquitting them of ship-money, if now they would freely assist him, prevailed nothing upon the English parliament, whom the faction drew aside to other counsels: and when the king sent sir Henry Vane to remind them of his desires, and to demand twelve subsidies, yet to accept of six, he industriously, as was collected from his own and his son's following practices, insisted upon the twelve, without insinuation of the lesser quantity his majesty would be contented with; which gave such an opportunity and matter for seditious harangues, that the house was so exasperated, as that they were about to remonstrate against the war with Scotland.

To prevent this ominous effect of the treachery of his servant, the king was forced to dissolve the parliament on the fifth of May, yet continued the
convocation

convocation, which granted him four shillings in the pound for all their ecclesiastical promotions. But the laity in the house had not time to declaim against his majesty's proceedings, did it without doors; for being dispersed home, they filled all places with suspicious rumours, and high discontents; and in Southwark there was an open mutiny began, which was not pacified without much danger, and the execution of the principal leaders.

The king thus betrayed, defamed and deserted by those who should have considered that in his honour their safety was embarked, though he had no less cause to fear secret conspiracies at home, which were more dangerous because obscure, than the Scots public hostility; yet vigorously prosecuted his undertaking, and raised a sufficient army; but could not do it with equal expedition, as his enemies, who had soon re-united their dispersed forces, and encouraged by the faction, with whom they held intelligence, in England, contented not themselves to stand upon the defensive, but invaded us, and advanced so far before all the king's army could be gathered together, that they gave a defeat to a party of it before the rear could be brought up by the earl of Strafford, who was appointed general, or the king could come to encourage them with his presence.

He was no sooner arrived at his army, but there followed him from some English lords a petition, very conformable to the Scotch remonstrance, which they called The Intentions of the Army. So that his majesty might justly fear some attempts in the south, while he was thus defending himself from the northern injuries. The king answered the petitioners, That before their petition came, he had resolved to summon all the peers to consult

what would be most for the safety of the nation and his own honour ; who accordingly met on the twenty-fourth of September, where it was determined that a parliament should be called to meet on the third of November; and, in the mean time, a truce should be made with the Scots, with whom some commissioners from the parliament should treat.

On the third of November began that fatal parliament, which was so transported by the arts of some unquiet persons, that they dishonoured the name and hopes of a parliament, ingulfed the nation in a sea of blood, ruined the king, and betrayed all their own privileges and the people's liberty into the power of a phanatic and perfidious army : and although his majesty could not hope to find them moderate, yet he endeavoured to make them so ; telling them at their meeting, that he was resolved to put himself freely upon the affections of his English subjects ; that he would satisfy all their just grievances, and not leave to malice itself a shadow to doubt of his desire to make this a glorious and flourishing kingdom. He commended to their care the chasing out of the rebels, the provisions of his own army, and the relief of the oppressed northern countries.

But the malignity of some few, and the ignorance of more, employed that assembly in other matters : first, in purging their house of all such as they conceived would not comply with their destructive enterprizes ; and for such men they either found some fault with their elections, or made them criminals in some public grievance ; though others, of a deeper guilt, they kept among them, that their offences might make them obnoxious to their power and obsequious to their commands. Then, with composed harangues, they declaimed
upon

upon the public grievances, and reckoned up casual misfortunes amongst designed abuses of government, every way raising up contumelies against the present power; and that which was fullest of detraction and envy, was applauded as most pregnant with liberty. Thus pretending several injuries had been done to the people, they raised the multitude to hopes of an unbounded liberty, and a discontent with the present government.

After this they set free all the martyrs of sedition that for their malignant libels had been imprisoned, and three of them were conducted through London with such a company of people adorned with rosemary and bays, as it seemed a triumph over justice and those tribunals that sentenced them. Then they fell upon all the chief ministers of state: they impeached the earl of Strafford, lord-lieutenant of Ireland; after him the archbishop of Canterbury; the lord Finch, keeper of the great seal; the judges that had determined the ship-money legal; and others; some of which fled, those that were found were clapped into prison.

While the factious thus led the house, their partisans without, by their instructions, formed petitions against the government in church and state; to which they seduced the ignorant rabble in the city and several counties to subscribe, and in a tumultuous manner to present them to their patriots: who being animated by the success of their arts, fell to draw up a bill for triennial parliaments, wherein the power of calling that great council of the nation was, upon the refusal of the king, and the neglect of others, devolved upon constables. Which profanation of majesty, though the king dissuaded them from, yet they persisted in; and he passed it.

In

In the year 1641, the king, with much reluctance signed a commission to some lords to pass the bill of attainder against the earl of Strafford; and another for continuation of the parliament during the pleasure of the two houses.

The passing of these two bills, as some thought, wounded the king's greatness more than any thing he ever did. The first, because it cut off a most faithful servant; and none upbraided him more than those who had forced him to it. By the other bill, he had, in the opinion of some, renounced his crown, and granted it to those men who at present exercised so arbitrary a power, that they wanted nothing but length of time to be reputed kings; and this they now had gotten. But the more speculative concluded it an act of especial prudence, for the king made that an evidence of his sincere intention to oblige his people, and overcome the malice of his enemies with benefits; which the faction would have usurped, and by the boldness of the attempt, engaged the people to them as the only patrons of their liberty; and they were furnished with an example for it by their confederates in Scotland, who called an assembly without the king's leave, and continued it against his pleasure.

The fall of the earl of Strafford so terrified the other officers of state, that the lord-high-treasurer resigned his staff to the hands from whence he received it; the lord Cottington forsook the mastership of the court of wards; and the guardian of the prince returned him to the king. These lords parting with their offices, like those that scatter their treasure and jewels in the way, that they might delude the violence of their greedy pursuers.

But

But the king was left naked of their faithful ministry, and exposed to the insinuations and informations of those who were either complices or mercenaries to the faction, to whom they discovered his most private counsels.

When the earl of Strafford was dead, then did the parliament begin to think of sending away the Scots, who hitherto had much impoverished the northern counties, and increased the charges of the nation: but now they were voted to receive three hundred thousand pounds, under the notion of a brotherly assistance; but in truth designed by the faction, as a reward for their clamours for the earl's blood: yet were they kept so long till the king had resigned more of his prerogative, in signing the bills to take away the high-commission and the star-chamber. After which spoils of majesty, they disbanded the English and the Scotch armies, on the sixth of August; and, on the tenth of that month, the king followed them into Scotland, to settle, if it were possible, that kingdom. But the king still found them as before. When he satisfied their greedy appetites, then would they offer him their lives and fortunes; but when gain or advantage appeared from his enemies, they appeared in their proper nature ungrateful, changeable and perfidious, whom no favours could oblige, nor any thing but ruin was to be expected by building upon their love.

While the king was in Scotland, labouring to settle that nation by granting all that the covetousness and ambition of their leaders pretended was for the public good, and so aimed at no less than a miracle, by his favours to reduce faith into these perfidious breasts; the parliament adjourned and left a standing committee of such as were the leaders or the servants of the faction. These prepared

pared new toils for his majesty's return, and by them was the Grand Remonstrance formed. In it were reckoned for grievances all the complaints of men that were impatient of laws and government; the offences of courtiers; the unpleasing resolves of judges; the neglects, or rigours, of the ministers of justice; the undigested sermons of some preachers; yea, the positions of some divines in the schools, were all exaggerated to defame the present government both in church and state, and to magnify the skill of these state-physicians that offered prescriptions for all these distempers. Besides, more easily to abuse the vulgar, who reckon misfortunes as crimes, unpleasing accidents were represented as designs of tyranny; and those things which had been reformed, were yet mentioned as continued burthens; from which the people were assured there could be no deliverance but by the wisdom and magnanimity of the remonstrants.

To prepare the way for this, the opprobrious parts of it were first whispered among the populace, that, by this seeming suppression, men, impatient of secrets, might more eagerly divulge them, and the danger appear greater by an affected silence. Then prodigious calumnies were formed of the king, and such suspicions raised of him and his friends, as might force them to some injuries which hitherto they forbore, and by securing themselves increase the public fears.

When the minds of men were thus made solicitous concerning dangers from the king, to make them more pliable and ductile, there was represented to them an inevitable anger of Heaven against the present state of things both in church and state, testified by many prodigies that were related,

related, and portentuous presages of ruin. Certain prophecies from unknown oracles were divulged, which enigmatically described the king as a monster, and from such a prince must proceed a change of government.

This was done to temper the minds of men by a superstition for a guidance of their ministers, who being conceived to be the ambassadors of Heaven, were supposed to have it in their commission; to declare the conditions of war and peace: and these, either through the same weakness capable of the like terrors with the vulgar, or corrupted, as some were, by the caresses and gainful hopes the faction allured them with, justified their fears, and increased them by applying some obscure prophecies in Scripture to the present times and people; compared the pretended corruptions of our church with the idolatries of Israel, and whatsoever was condemned in the Holy Records was paralleled with the things they disliked here; and all the curses that God poured out upon his irreconcilable and obdurate enemies, were denounced against such as differed from them, or would not join with the faction.

To make these harangues more efficacious, the authors of them were exalted by the demagogues, who appropriated to such teachers the titles of saints, faithful ministers, precious men; and they, on the other side, made a return of epithets to their masters, of the servants of the Most High, such as were to do the work of the Lord; that by their counsels men were to expect new heavens and a new earth; that they were men that should prepare the kingdom for Jesus Christ, and lay the foundations of the empire of the saints, which was to last a thousand years.

To

To make the cry yet louder, they permitted all sects and heresies a licence of public profession, and permitted the office of teaching to every bold and ignorant undertaker; so that, at last, the dregs of the people usurped that dignity, and women, who had parted with the modesty of their sex, would not only speak, but also rule in the church.

While all these methods of ruin were preparing here, the same anger of God, the same madness of men, raised up another tempest in Ireland: for the popish lords and priests of Ireland, who were the prime composers of the tragedies there, were encouraged by the success of the Scots, who, by a prosperous rebellion had procured for themselves such large privileges, to an imitation, which the present jealousies in England promised to be secure. And they had an happy opportunity by the vacancy in government, by the death of the earl of Strafford, with whom the Irish lords, while they prosecuted him in England, had removed all those other inferior magistrates that were most skilful in the affairs of that kingdom, by accusing to the faction some of them of treason, and others of an inclination to the earl, and had got preferred to their charges such as were either altogether unacquainted with the genius of that people, or favourers of the conspiracy.

A strength they had also ready; for those eight thousand which had been listed for the Scottish expedition were unseasonably disbanded, and the king, in foresight they might cause some mischief in their own country, had therefore promised four thousand of them to the king of Spain, yet would not the parliament consent to their departure, because, as the Irish lords suggested, it would displease the king of France; and, when the king
promised

promised to send as many to the French camp, that likewise was not relished. The common soldiers of that army being thus rendered useless, were easily drawn into the rebellion, although very few of their officers were polluted with the crime,

The Irish lords and priests being allured by these our vices, and these opportunities, began their rebellion on the twenty-third of October. The Irish, throughout that whole kingdom on a sudden invading the unprepared English that were scattered among them, despoiling them of their estates, goods, and many thousands of their lives, without any respect of sex, age, kindred, or friendship, and made them as so many sacrifices to their bloody superstition. They had like to have surprized Dublin : but their conspiracy being detected there, and in some few other places, the English name and interest was preserved in that kingdom till they could receive assistance from hence.

The king had the first intelligence of it, in its very beginnings, in Scotland; and thereupon sent sir James Stuart to the lords of the privy-council in Ireland, to acquaint them with his knowledge, and instructions, and to carry all that money that his present stores could supply. Besides, he urged the parliament of Scotland, as being nearest, to a speedy help; who declined their aid, because Ireland was dependant upon the crown of England. At the same time also he sent post to the parliament of England; which treated him with still greater disrespect, the faction applauding their fortune, that new troubles were arisen to molest the king, and that the royal power being thus assaulted in all three nations, there must shortly arise so many new commonwealths. Besides that it yielded fresh
matter

matter of reproach to his majesty, to whose counsels at first secretly they whispered, and at last publicly imputed that horrid massacre. Which slanders were coloured by the arts of the Irish rebels, who, to dishearten the English from any resistance, bragged that the queen was with their army; that the king would come amongst them with auxiliary forces; that they did but maintain his cause against the puritans; that they had the king's commission for what they did, producing indeed a patent that themselves had drawn, but therto was affixed an old broad-seal that had been taken from an obsolete patent out of Farnham abby, by one Plunket, in the presence of many of their lords and priests, as was afterwards attested by the confession of many. That the Scots were in confederacy with them, to beget a belief of which, they abstained from the lives and fortunes of those of that nation among them.

On the other side, to encourage the natives of their own party, they produced fictitious letters, wherein they were informed from England that the parliament had passed an act, that all the Irish should be compelled to the protestant worship; that for the first offence they should forfeit all their goods, for the second their estates, and for the third their lives. Besides, they flattered them with the hopes of liberty; that the English yoke should be shaken off; that they would have a king of their own nation; and that the goods and estates of the English should be divided among the natives: and with these hopes of spoil and liberty, the Irish were driven to such a fury, that they committed so many horrid and barbarous acts of cruelty, as scarce any age or people were ever guilty of.

In

In the mean while, nothing was done for the relief of the poor English there, but only some votes passed against the rebels, till the king returned to London, which was about the end of November ; where he, with the queen and the prince were magnificently feasted by the citizens, and the chief of them afterwards by him at Hampton-court : for he never neglected any honest arts to acquire his people's love ; to which they were naturally prone enough, had not his enemies methods and suggestions depraved their genius. But this much troubled the faction, who envied that reverence to majesty in others which was not in themselves, and they endeavoured to make this love short and unhappy ; for they discountenanced the chief promoters of this honour to the king, and were more eager to render him odious : for having gotten a guard about them, they likewise insinuated into the people dangerous apprehensions as the cause of that guard, and every day grew more nice and jealous of their priviledges and power.

The king's advice to more tenderness of his prerogative, or his complaints of the scandalous speeches that were uttered in their house, they interpreted as encroachments on their grandeur, and upbraided the king for them in their petitions to him.

The king therefore, not always to encourage this violence with patience, but at last by a course of justice to take off those whom he had found to be the authors of these destructive counsels, the grand movers of these seditious practices ; commanded his attorney-general to accuse five members of the house of commons, and one of the lords, upon articles of high-treason, to be tried according to the laws of the land.

This being related to the house of commons, they were so far from admitting the king's charge against them, that they accused him of breach of privilege, and voted all those guilty of enmity to the commonwealth that should obey the king in any of his commands concerning them.

This opposition so far moved the king, that he himself, with about an hundred lords and gentlemen, and their followers, went to the house of commons; where, commanding his attendants to move no further than the stairs, to offer no violence, nor return any uncivil language to any, although provoked, himself with the palsgrave only entered the house, and demanded that the incendiaries might be delivered into his hands, with whom he promised to deal no otherwise than according to law. But they whom he sought, being before informed of the king's coming, by the secret intelligence of the marquis of Hamilton and a court lady, had forsook the place, and withdrawn themselves into the sanctuary of the city. Wherefore the king, having renewed his charge, without injury to any immediately departed.

But the faction would not let him so rest, but prosecuted this attempt of his with all the clamours that they possibly could raise; spread the sparks of dissention far and wide; made the common people mad with fears and distractions; stirred up some in several counties to bring petitions for the impeached members and their violated privileges; and at last prepared an armed rabble to bring the accused demagogues to the house from their coverts in London.

This coming to the knowledge of the king, he resolved to withdraw himself, with the queen and their children, to Windsor, that he might permit their fury to languish when it had no opposition.

The

The king's wisdom was perceived by his enemies, and therefore, to counterwork it, and not to let the people sleep without fear, lest they should return to the love of obedience, strange reports were every day brought of dangers from the king; that troops of papists were gathered about Kingston upon the Thames, where the county magazine was lodged, under the command of the lord Digby, who was known to be a papist, and colonel Lunsford, who was reported to be of so monstrous an appetite that he would eat children: and parties were sent to take them both, which found no such dreadful preparations.

At other times, when the people on the Lord's days were at divine worship, they were interrupted in it by alarms, that the papists were up in arms, and were just then about to fire their houses, and mix their blood with their prayers: that there were forces kept in grots and caves under ground, that should in the night break out in the midst of the city, and cut all their throats.-----Thus were the people taught to hate their prince, and, by bloody news from every quarter, they were instructed to that cruelty which they vainly feared, and to adore those by whose counsels they were delivered from so unexpected dangers.

However, the king soon after was pleased to consent that they might send over an army of ten thousand Scots into Ireland, and deliver unto them the strong town and port of Carickfergus, one of the chief keys of that kingdom; which was done to oblige the Scots to them in their future designs. He was also pleased to wave the prosecution of the impeached members, and was willing to grant a free and general pardon for all his subjects, as the parliament should think convenient.

But all this could not satisfy them, and they were more discontented that they could not usurp the king's rights, than if they had lost their own privileges. Therefore, to bring the lord's to a concurrence with them, the hitherto prosperous art of tumultuous petitions was again practised, and great numbers were brought from several counties to shake the fundamental constitutions of their house, and to require that neither the bishops nor the popish lords should continue in their ancient right to vote among the peers.

The most common answer was, that the house of commons were just now in consideration thereof. The petitioners were taught to reply, that they doubted not of the care of the commons house, but all their distrust was in the house of lords, where the popish lords and bishops had the greatest power. The names of these they desired to know; and in this they were so very earnest, that they would not willingly withdraw whilst it was debated, and then they had leave to depart with this answer, That the house of commons had already endeavored relief from the lords in their requests, and should so continue till redress be obtained. Such petitions as these came likewise from the several classes of the inferior tradesmen about London; as porters, watermen, and even women were persuaded to present their petitions to the same effect.

Moreover, to make the king more pliable, they spread a report that they intended to impeach the queen of high-treason. This rumour made the deeper impression, because they had raised most prodigious slanders against her; and when they had removed all other counsellors from the king, she was famed to be the rock upon which all hopes of peace and safety were split: that she commanded
no

no less his counsels than affections, and that his weakness was so great, as not to consent to or undertake any thing which she did not approve : that she had perverted him to her religion, and formed designs of overthrowing the protestant faith. But the parliament taking notice of the report, sent some of their house to excuse themselves, alledging it to be an unjust scandal cast upon them.

But the king, knowing how usual it was for the faction, by tumults and other practices, to transport the parliament from their just intentions in other things, and that they might do so in this, resolved to send her into Holland, under colour of accompanying their eldest daughter, newly married to the prince of Orange ; but, in reality, to secure her ; so that, by the fears of her danger, he might not be forced to any thing contrary to his honour and conscience ; and that her affections and relation to him might not betray her life to the hands of his enemies. With her also he sent all the jewels of the crown, that they might not be the spoils of the faction, but the means of the support of her dignity in foreign parts, if his necessities afterwards should not permit him to provide for her otherwise.

The king hastened the security of the queen, and accompanied her as far as Dover, there to take his farewell of her. While he was committing her to the mercy of the winds and waves, that she might escape the cruelty of more unquiet and faithless men, they persecuted him with addresses, and at Canterbury presented him with a bill for taking away bishops votes in parliament. Which having been cast out of the house of peers several times before, ought not, by the course and order of parliament, to have been admitted again the same session. But the faction had now recourse to

their accustomed engine, a tumult, and it was then passed by the house of lords, and brought to Dover, together with some obscure threats, that if it was not signed, the queen should not be suffered to depart.

This his majesty signed, in hopes that that bill being once consented to, the fury of the faction, which with so great violence pursued an absolute destruction of the ecclesiastical government, would be abated. But he soon found the demagogues had not so much candour as to be compounded with; and they made this but a step to the overthrow of that which he designed to preserve.

The king's enemies having soon after made an attempt to seize upon the prince, he retired with him and the duke of York, and immediately removed to Theobalds in order to his journey towards the north, where he intended to fix his abode, till he saw what issue this storm would produce.

While the king thus provided for his liberty, the faction proceeded to usurp the militia, which his majesty had denied, and the lords were ashamed to ask: therefore they privately encouraged their partizans in all the cities and boroughs where they were most powerful, to appoint musters, to arm and train their youth, and form them into companies; which afterwards they moved the lower house to vote legal, and to make an order, in the name of the parliament, for the constituting of deputies to the same purpose in every county: and at last, by the tumults which they raised, the threats they used to divulge the names of the dissenting lords, and secret promises to some others, they prevailed upon the house of peers, when many of the most eminent were absent, to join in a petition for the militia, upon pretence of great dangers at home, and more prodigious terrors from abroad, pretending

pretending that by intelligence from Paris, Rome and Venice, they were advised of great designs to overthrow the parliament, together with the protestant religion. He proposed to them expedients whereby they might be associated with him in the power of the militia which honour and confidence forbade him to distrust himself wholly of, and passionately conjured them to lay aside their vain and empty terrors.

But they, despising his indulgence, and neglecting his admonitions, the next day, in furious votes, declared themselves sole masters of the militia; and to make the people believe there was much truth in their false fears, they commanded strict watches to be kept in all suspected places, beacons to be set up, the sea-marks to be watched, and the navy to be new rigged and fitted for the sea. New plots were also discovered, and strange and unheard of designs to murder the most eminent patriots were brought to light.

Lest the king should, at his coming into the north, make use of the magazine at Hull, for his own defence, the faction, to secure that and the town for their future purposes, sent down sir John Hotham, without any order or commission from either house of parliament, to seize on them. This man, when the king, petitioned by the gentlemen of Yorkshire to employ those arms and that ammunition for the safety and peace of that county, on the twenty-third of April, 1642, insolently shut the gates upon him, and would not permit him to enter, though with but twenty attendants; for he offered to leave the guard of noblemen and gentlemen who followed him without.

The king thereupon proclaimed him traitor, and, by letters complained of the indignity, and required satisfaction. But the faction represented

the act as so glorious, that the house of commons, by their votes, approved what he had done without their command, and declared that the king had done them an injury, in proclaiming so innocent a member traitor. Ordered the earl of Warwick, to whom they had committed the command of the navy, to land some men out of the ships at Hull, and to transport the magazine there from thence to London. An order of assistance was also given to several of their confidents, as a committee of both houses to reside at Hull, and the counties of York and Lincoln, were commanded to execute their commands. Besides, they sent a commission to Hotham, to continue the insurrections he had begun, and kindle that war which set fire to the whole nation, and in a short space consumed him and his son, who were executed by the instructors of his villany.

The insolence of Hotham, and the practices of the committee, which were sent down into the north, to debauch the people in their loyalty, made the king intend his own security by a guard; which the gentry and commonalty of Yorkshire, who were witnesses of the injury offered to their prince, willingly and readily made up. No sooner had the king expressed his intention of such a guard, but the faction took this occasion to commence our miseries, and open those fountains of blood which polluted the whole kingdom: for upon the first intelligence of it they filled the house of commons and the city with clamours, That his majesty had now taken arms to the overthrow of them and the protestant religion; and that they were not any longer to think the happiness of the kingdom depended upon the king, or any of the regal branches of that stock: that it would argue no want either of duty or modesty, if they should depose him.

By

By these harangues they so heated the parliament that they resolved upon the question, That the king, by taking to himself such a guard, did intend to levy war against the parliament. With an equal fury they issued out commissions into all parts of the kingdom, and appointed certain days for all the trained bands to be put into a posture of war, sending down some of their members to see to the execution of these commands, and to seize on the magazines in the several counties.

To all these their violent and unjust attempts, the king first opposed the law, in several declarations manifested the power of arms to be the ancient and undoubted right of the crown, by many proclamations, charged all men, under the crime and penalties of treason, to forbear the execution of those ordinances which were published to licence their rebellion, and answered all the fictitious pretensions of the parliament to that power, in their several remonstrances. But though the king had, in the judgment of all understanding, and disinterested persons, the juster cause, and the more powerful pen, yet the faction's haste, which is most efficacious in civil discords; the slanders they had raised against him, and impressed in the minds of the people; the terrors of that arbitrary power which the house of commons had a long time exercised in the vexatious prosecutions of all such as opposed their imperious resolves, and the hopes of licence and spoil in the ruin of church and state, had so possessed the minds of the inferior multitude, that neither law nor religion could have the least influence on them.

Not long after, the faction ordered a collection to be made of money and plate, to maintain horse, horsemen and arms for the ensuing war. The specious pretences for which were, the safety of the
king's

king's person, and the taking him out of the hands of evil counsellors ; the defence of the priviledges of parliament ; the preservation of the protestant religion, and the maintenance of the ancient laws of the land.

Such inviting causes as these inflamed the minds of the multitude, and filled them with more airy hopes of victory than the noise of drums and trumpets : but what was most powerful, were the sermons of such who, being displeased with the present ecclesiastical government, were promised the richest benefices, and a partage of the revenue which belonged to bishops, deans, and chapters. These from their pulpits proclaimed war in the name of Christ, the prince of peace ; and whatsoever was contributed to the spilling of the blood of the wicked, was to build up the throne of the meekest lamb ; and, besides the satisfaction they were to expect from the public faith, which the parliament promised, there was a larger interest to be doubled upon them in the kingdom of saints, that was now approaching.

Deluded by these artifices and impostures, people of all conditions and all sexes, some carried by instinct, others hurried by some furious zeal, and a last sort led by covetousness, cast into this holy treasury the banck for blood, all the ornaments of their family, all their silver vessels, even to their spoons, with the pledges of their first love, their marriage-rings ; and the younger females spared not their thimbles and bodkins, the obliging gifts of their inamorato's, from being a part of the price of blood. But while these preparations were made at London, the king at York declared against the scandal, that he intended to levy war against the parliament, calling God to witness how far his desires and thoughts were from it.

But

But all was in vain, for the faction chose that the people should be rather guilty of committing rebellion, than only of favouring the contrivers of it; and decreed to try whether, by a prosperous success, they could change their crimes to virtue. Therefore they hastened all they could to raise horse and foot to form an army equal to their usurpation: which was not difficult for them to do; for they, being masters of London, whose multitudes, desirous of innovations, were easily amassed for any enterprize, twenty thousand were sooner gathered than the king could get five hundred. The city also could afford them more ordnance than the king could promise to himself common muskets; and to pay their soldiers, besides the vast sums that were gathered for Ireland, and the contributions of the deluded souls for this war; they seized also upon the revenues of the king, queen, prince, and bishops, and plundered the houses of those lords and gentlemen whom they suspected to be attached to the king's cause.

Thus was the king compelled to war, and his strength so far encreased, that he won many battles, and was not far from conquest, had not God thought proper to afflict this sinful nation with numerous and most impious tyrants, and make us feel, that no oppressions are so unsupportable as those which are imposed by such as have made the highest pretensions to liberty.

The first battle was fought at Edge-hill, on the twenty-third of October; for the king had no sooner gotten a considerable force, though not equal to those of his enemies, but he marched towards London, and in his way thither met with Essex's army, that was come from thence to take him. Night concluded this battle, which had concluded the war, had not the king's prevailing
horie

horse preferred the spoils to victory, and left the enemy some advantage to dispute for her. But the king had all the fairest marks of her favour: for though he had lost his general, yet he kept the field, possessed the dead bodies, opened his way toward London, and in the sight of some part of the army of Essex took Banbury, and marched triumphantly into Oxford, with one hundred and fifty colours taken in fight. Having secured that place he advanced towards London, whither Essex had gotten before him, and disposed his defeated regiments within ten miles of the city; yet the king fell upon two regiments of them at Brainford, took five hundred prisoners, and sunk their ordnance. After this he retired to Oxford, and a treaty of peace was proposed, but rendered abortive by the faction.

In the year 1643, at the opening of the spring, the queen came to England, bringing with her some considerable supplies of men, money, and ammunition; and her coming was attended with such a series of successes, that the king that summer was master of the north and west, except some few garrisons. Which so dismayed the parliament, that very many of them were preparing to quit the kingdom; and, had the king adhered to his own opinion, to march immediately towards London, and not been fatally persuaded at a council of war, first to attempt Gloucester, he had in the judgment of all discerning men, then finished the war with glory. But here he lay till Essex had gotten a recruit from London, and came time enough to relieve the town; though in his return the king obliged him to fight, worsted him near Newbery, and so bravely followed him the next day, that he forced the parliament's horse, which were lost in the rear to seek their safety by making their way over a great part of their foot; yet lost,
on

on his side, much noble blood, as the earls of Carnarvon and Sunderland, and viscount Falkland.

After this encounter the king returned to Oxford, to consult with those members of both houses that had left the tumults at London to join with him for the common benefit, who being, as to the peers, the far greater, and, as to the commons, an equal number, with those at Westminster, assumed the name and authority of parliament, and deliberated of the ways of peace, and means to prevent the desolations which the faction so furiously designed, who were now resolving to encrease our miseries by calling in the Scots to their assistance.

Though they pretended so highly to God's cause, as if they had the certainty of some divine revelation, yet they would not trust him for their preservation, notwithstanding their pretences to his cause had furnished them with so vast a treasure and so mighty a strength; but would invite others to the violation of most sacred oaths, to sin against all laws and every rule of justice, that themselves might be secure in their usurpations: and that perfidious party that then ruled in Scotland, hoping for as great advantages as their former wickedness had yielded, contrary to all obligations which the king's goodness had laid on them, drew that people once more into rebellion against their prince; and to make them more eager, and think the enterprise easy, they first raised a report that the king was deserted by most of his nobility.

The parliament at Oxford having by a letter moved the earl of Essex to endeavour peace, also declared against this invasion of the Scots by another letter sent to them; in which also they acquainted them with the falseness of their officious lie, and shewed how inconsiderable a number of
lords

lords were with those that invited them in. The king himself wrote also to put them in mind of their several engagements to be quiet: but they commanded the letters to be burned by the hand of the hangman.

A more secret falshood he found in the marquis of Hamilton, whose treasons now came to be more suspected: for his majesty having written to him, to use all his power and interest to keep his countrymen at home, he, by some secret arts, more inflamed them; and to cover his perfidiousness, fled from Scotland to Oxford, as seeking a shelter for his loyalty; but indeed to be a spy in the king's counsels. But his treasons had outstripped him and his brother, the earl of Lanerick, who came with him; therefore they were forbidden the court.

But the dishonour of that nation was in a great measure repaired by the gallantry and faithfulness of the marquis of Montros, who being commissioned by the kin, with an incredible industry, by small numbers of men, won many battles, and overthrew well-formed armies: and, had not the fate of his master, which was to be betrayed by those he trusted, been likewise common to him, he had forced that nation to justice and quiet.

But before Montros could get his commission, the Scots were entered England, and many arts were used to render their coming odious to the people.

By these arts and ways was the winter spent to prepare for the attempts of the following summer, wherein, in the year 1644, though the parliament's forces encreased by the Scottish succours, had the success over several bodies of the royalists, yet that small number that followed the king's person, and
were

were guided by his own counsels and example, obtained two great victories. For his majesty having once more provided for the safety of the queen, in sending her to Exeter, there to lay down the burden of her love, and from thence to seek for shelter in France, taken his last farewell of her, and left Oxford strengthened against the siege which the earl of Essex and sir William Waller threatened that place with, he, with a small party, drew out, intending to form his counsels according to the future occurrences.

This made the enemy divide, and Essex was designed to reduce the west. But Waller, with whom usually went sir Arthur Hesilrigge, a person fitter to raise seditious tumults than manage armies, was to hunt the king upon the mountains of Wales, towards which he seemed to direct his course. But hearing of the resolutions of these two jealous generals, he wheeled about to Oxford, and from thence drew the greatest part of the garrison, and with that falling upon Waller at Cropredy-bridge, obtained a great victory, which would have been more prejudicial to the enemy, had not the tenderness of his subjects blood restrained him from prosecuting his success to a greater slaughter. But contenting himself to have diverted injuries from his own breast, he only used this victory for an advantage to peace, which, in a letter from Evesham, on the fourth of July, he moved the parliament unto.

But the unquiet criminals rendered it vain and fruitless, and represented to their people the yet prevailing forces in the north, and their army in the west, which had now taken in so considerable places to their obedience. Therefore, to remove their confidence in Essex's power, the king followed him, and so closely pursued him, that he
drove

drove him up into Cornwall, and there, as it were, besieged him. During which he sent a letter to him, which was seconded by another from the lords and gentlemen in his army, to solicit his endeavours for the peace and quiet of the bleeding and wasted kingdom. But it had not its desired effect, because that earl either valued not the solid glory of being the happy author of a nation's settlement; or feared that his past actions had wholly despoiled him of hopes of security in a return to obedience, or knew that his authority was not so great to put an issue to those crimes which he had led others to commit. Which last was generally believed, for he had found and complained that his credit declined with the faction. Therefore making no return to those letters, he provided for his own safety in a cock-boat, and ignominiously deserted his army; of which the horse, taking advantage of a dark night, made their escape: but the commanders of the foot capitulated for their lives, and left their arms, cannon, baggage and ammunition, to the disposal of the king.

After this victory, by a letter from Tavestock, on the eighth of September, he seconded that from Evelham for an accord with the parliament; but finding this message had the same reception with the former, and that the faction intended not to sacrifice their ill-acquired power and usurped interests to the public tranquillity, he rose from thence, and marched towards London; from whence were by this time in the way to meet him Essex and Waller recruited, and joined with the earl of Manchester's forces that were now returned from their northern services: and at Newbery both sides joined in an eager fight; the success of which was undecided.

The

as a part of the portion, to recover the palatinate which his sister's husband had lost, and was by the emperor cantoned to the duke of Bavaria and the king of Spain : and herein he was to combat all the artists of state in that court, the practices of that church, and put an issue to that treaty wherein the lord Digby, though much conversant in the intrigues of that council, had been long amused.

To that place he was to pass incognito, accompanied only with the marquis of Buckingham, Mr. Endymion Porter, and Mr. Francis Cottington, through France ; where, to satisfy his curiosity, and shew himself to love, he attempted and enjoyed a view of the court at Paris, and there received the first impression of that excellent princess who was by Heaven destined to his chaste embraces. Satisfied with that sight, no lesser enjoyments of any pleasure in that great kingdom, nor vanity of youth, which is hardly curbed when it is allied to power, could tempt his stay or a discovery of his greatness ; but, with a speed answerable to an active body and mind, he out-stripped the French posts which were sent to stop him, although that king had intelligence of his being within his dominions immediately after their departure from the Louvre.

The certain news of his safe arrival at Madrid, drew after him from hence a princely train, and raised the censures of the world upon the king ; as being too forgetful of the inhospitality of princes to each other, who, when either design, tempests, or necessity, have driven their rivals in majesty upon their coasts without a caution, do not let them part without some tribute to their interest.

None daring to mention this to the king, his jester, Archee, made him sensible of it, by telling him, He came to change caps with him. " Why ? "

said the king. "Because," replied Archee, "thou
 " hast sent the prince into Spain, from whence he
 " is never like to return." "But," said the king,
 " what wilt thou say when thou seest him come
 " back again?" "Marry," says the jester, "I
 " will take off the fool's cap, which I now put
 " upon thy head for sending him thither, and
 " put it on the king of Spain's for letting him
 " return."

This so awakened the king's apprehension of the
 prince's danger, that it threw him into an exceed-
 ing melancholy, from which he was never free till
 he was assured of the prince's return to his own
 dominions; and that was not long after: for not-
 withstanding the contests of his two prime ministers
 there, Buckingham and Bristol, (which were suffi-
 cient to amaze an ordinary prudence, and disturb
 the counsels of so young a beginner in the mysteries
 of empire, and the arts of experienced conclaves;) the
 impetuous attempts of the Spanish clergy,
 either for a change of his religion, or a toleration
 of theirs; the spleen of Olivares, whom Bucking-
 ham had exasperated; he so dexterously managed
 the treaty of marriage, that all the articles and cir-
 cumstances were solemnly sworn to by both kings.
 By a civil letter to the pope, which his enemies
 malice afterwards took as an occasion of slander,
 he procured a civil return, with the grant of a dis-
 pensation; baffled the hopes of their clergy by his
 constancy in his own profession, and vindicated it
 from the odious aspersions of their priests, by
 causing our Liturgy to be translated into the
 Spanish tongue; and by his noble mien enthralled
 the infanta, for whom he had exposed his liberty.

Yet having an insight into the practices of that
 court, that they would not put the restitution of
 the palatinate into the consideration of the portion,
 but



but reserve it as an extraordinary instance of the Spanish love, and as an opportunity for the infanta to reconcile the English spirits, who were heated by the late wars into an hatred of the Spaniards; and that this was but to lengthen out the treaty till they had wholly brought the palatinate under their power. ; he conformed his mind to the resolution of his father, who said, He would never marry his son with a portion of his only sister's tears, and therefore inclined to a rupture : but concealing his purpose, and dissembling his knowledge of their designs, he consulted his own safety and return, which his father's letters commanded ; which he so prudently acquired, that the king of Spain parted from him with all those endearments with which departing friends take leave of each other ; having satisfied him by a proxy left with the earl of Bristol, to be delivered when the dispensation was come ; which, as soon as he was safe on ship-board, by a private express, he commanded him to keep in his hands till further orders.

His return to England, which was in October, 1623, was entertained with as much joy and thanksgiving, as if he had been the good genius of the whole nation ; and his entrance into London was a triumph for his wisdom, their bonfires lengthened out the day, and their bells by incessant ringing, forbid sleep to those eyes which were refreshed with his sight : nor could the people by age or sickness be confined at home, but despising the prescriptions of their physicians, they went to meet him as restored to health.

When he had given the king an account of his voyage, and the Spanish counsels not to restore the palatinate, a parliament was summoned, which was so zealous of the honour of the prince, that both houses voted an address to his majesty, that

he would no longer treat, but begin a war with Spain ; and desiring the prince's mediation, who was always ready to gratify the nation, therein to his father, they assured him they would stand by him with their lives and fortunes ; but yet, when the war with the crown descended to him, they shamefully deserted him in the beginning of his reign.

When neither a wife nor peace was any longer to be expected from Spain, both were sought for from France, by a marriage with Henrietta Maria, the youngest daughter of Henry IV. the love of whom the prince had received by the eye, and she of him by the ear : for having formerly received impressions from the relations of his gallantry, when she was told of his passing through Paris, she answered, as it is reported, That, if he went to Spain for a wife, he might have had one nearer hand, and saved himself a great part of the labour.

In the midst of these preparations for war and love, king James died at Theobald's, on Sunday the twenty-seventh of March, 1625 ; and prince Charles was immediately proclaimed at the court gate king of Great Britain, France, and Ireland ; and so throughout all the three kingdoms, with infinite rejoycings ; the people expecting the happiest government under him, whose private and youthful part of life had been so well spent, that it had nothing in it which could want to be excused, and where the eager inquisitors for matter of reproach met with no satisfaction. An argument of a solid virtue, that could not hold out against all the vices of youth, that are rendered more impetuous by flatteries and plenty, which are continually resident in great courts : for had any debauchery polluted his earlier days, it had been published
by



by those who in scarcity of just accusations did invent unimaginable calumnies: nor could it have been hid, for in a great fortune nothing is concealed, but curiosity opens the closets and bed-chambers, especially of princes, and discovers their closest retirements, exposing all their actions to fame and censure. Nor did the king deceive their hopes, they being the happiest people under the sun, while he was undisturbed in the administration of justice.

His first public act was the celebrating his father's funeral, whereat he himself was the chief mourner, contrary to the practice of his royal predecessors, and not conformable to the ceremonies of state; either preferring piety to an unnatural grandeur; or guided by some secret decree of Providence, that, in all the ruins of his family, he should drink the greatest draught of tears; or his spirit presaging the troubles of the throne, he would hallow the ascent to it by a pious act of grief.

When he had paid that debt to his deceased father, he next provided for posterity, and therefore hastened the coming over of his dearest consort, whom the duke of Chevereux had in his name espoused at the church of Nostre-Dame in Paris; and he receiving her at Dover the next day after Trinity Sunday; at Canterbury began his conjugal embraces.----A lady of most excellent endowments, who assumed to herself nothing in his good fortune but the joy; and in his evil bore an equal share; for she revered him, not his greatness.

Thus having dispatched the affairs of his family, he applies himself to those of his kingdoms, which too much felicity had made unmanageable by a moderate government: and he seemed not so much to ascend a throne as enter upon a theatre,

to wrestle with all the difficulties of a corrupted state; whose long peace had softened almost all the nobility into court-pleasures, and made the commons insolent by a great plenty. The rites and discipline of religion had been blotted out by a long and uninterrupted prosperity, and factions crept from the church into the senate, which were made use of by those that endeavoured the alteration of government; and the resolves of that council were the dictates of some heady demagogues, who fed the vulgar with hopes of novelty under the name of liberty; so that the king could not endure their vices, nor they his virtues: whence came all the obstructions to his designs for glory and the public good. The treasury had been exhausted to satiate the hungry and greedy Scots; and the people were taught not to supply it, unless they were bribed with the blood of some minister of state, or some more advantages for licentiousness. Each of these single would have ennobled the care of an ordinary prudence to have weathered out: but when all these conspired with the traiterous projects of men of unbounded and unlawful hopes, they took from him his peace, and that which the world calls happiness; but yet they made him great, and affording exercises for his most excellent abilities, rendered him glorious.

The different states of these difficulties, when like clouds they were gathering together, and when they descended in showers of blood, divided the king's reign into two parts. The first could not be esteemed days of peace, but an immunity from civil-war. The other was when he was concluded by that fatal necessity, either to part with his dignity, and expose his subjects to the injuries of numerous tyrants; or else to exceed the calmer temper of his peaceful soul, and make use of those
necessary



necessary arms whereby he might hope to divert, if possible, the ruin of church and state which he saw in projection.

In the first part he had no wars at home but what was in the houses of parliament; which, though their first institution was designed for the production of just counsels, and assistances of government, yet, through the just indignation of heaven, and the practises of some unquiet and seditious persons, became the wombs wherein were first conceived and formed those monstrous confusions which destroyed their own liberty, caused our miseries and the king's afflictions.

His first parliament began on the eighteenth of June; at the opening of which the king acquainted them with the necessity of supplies for the war with Spain, which they importunately had through his mediation engaged his father in, and made it as hereditary to him as the crown: but the projectors of the alteration of government brought into debate two petitions; one for religion, the other for grievances, formed in king James's time, which delayed the succours, and increased the necessities, which at last they answered but with two subsidies; too poor a stock to furnish an army with; yet was kindly accepted, in expectation of more at the next session: for the infection seizing upon London, the parliament was adjourned till August, when they were to meet at Oxford; and at that time he passed such acts as were presented to him.

At the next session he gave a complying and satisfactory answer to all their petitions, and expected a retribution in larger subsidies towards the Spanish war: but, instead of these, there were high and furious debates of grievances, consulta-

tions to form and publish remonstrances, accusations of the duke of Buckingham: which the king esteeming as reproaches of his government, and assaults upon monarchy, dissolves that assembly, hoping to find one of a less choleric complexion after his coronation.

This inauspicious meeting drew after it another mischief, the miscarriage of the designs upon Spain: for the supplies of money being scanty and slow, the fleet could not go forth till the eighth of October; an unreasonable time in the British sea; and their first contest was with winds and tempests, which destroying some, scattered a great part, and obliged the remainder to desist from their enterprize. So what was the effect only of the malice of his enemies, was imputed by some to a secret decree of Heaven, which obstructed his just undertakings for glory.

The next year, 1627, the king, quickened by the petitions of the Rochellers, who now sued for his protection, as well as by the justice of his own cause, more early prosecuted his counsels, and sent the duke of Buckingham to attack the isle of Rhee; which, though alarmed to a greater strength by the last year's vain attempt, yet had now submitted to the English valour, had not the duke managed that war more with the gayeties of a courtier than the arts of a soldier: and when it was wisdom to forsake those attempts which former neglects had made impossible, being too greedy for honour, and to avoid the imputation of a safe retreat, he loaded his overthrow with a new ignominy, and a heavier loss of men.

This expedition being so unhappy, and the miseries of Rochel making them importunate for the king's assistance, his compassionate soul was desirous
to



to remove their dangers, but was restrained by that necessitous condition the faction had concluded him under. To free himself from which, that he might deliver the oppressed, he pawned his own lands for one hundred and twenty thousand pounds to the city, and borrowed thirty thousand pounds more of the East-India company: but this was yet too narrow a foundation to support the charges of the fleet, and no way so natural to get adequate supplies as by a parliament; which he therefore summoned to meet on the seventeenth of March, intending to use all methods of complacency to unite the subjects affections to himself.

This in the beginning proved successful, for the modesty of the subjects strove with the piety of the king, and both interests contended to oblige that they might be obliged. The parliament granted the king, in the year 1628, five subsidies, and he freely granted their petition of right, the greatest condescension that ever any king made, wherein he seemed to submit the royal scepter to the popular fasces, and to have given satisfaction even to supererrogation.

These auspicious beginnings, though full of joy both to prince and people, were matter of envy to the faction; and therefore, to form new discontents and jealousies, the demagogues perswaded the houses that the king's grant of their petition extended even to the taking away his right to tonnage and poundage. Besides this, they were again hammering a remonstrance to reproach him and his ministers of mal-administration. Which ingratitude he being not able to endure, on the twenty-sixth of June, adjourns the parliament till the twentieth of October, and afterward, by proclamation, till the twentieth of January following.

In

In the interim, the king hastens to send succours to Rochel ; and though the general, the duke of Buckingham, was at Portsmouth assassinated by Felton, armed, as he professed, with the public hatred ; yet the preparations were not slackened : the king, by his personal industry, doing more to the necessary furnishing of the fleet in ten or twelve days than the duke had done in so many months before : but in the mean while Rochel was barricadoed to an impossibility of relief. Therefore the earl of Lindsey, who commanded the forces, after some gallant, yet fruitless attempts, returned to England, and the Rochellers to the obedience of the French king.

As Providence had removed the great object of the popular hate, and, as pretended, the chief obstruction of the subjects love to their king, the duke of Buckingham ; so the king himself endeavoured to remove all other occasions of quarrel before the next session. He restored archbishop Abbot, who, for his remissness in the discipline of the church, had been suspended from his office, and was therefore the darling of the commons because in disgrace with the king. Dr. Potter, the great Calvinist, was made bishop of Carlisle ; Mr. Mountague's book of Appello Cæsarem was called in ; proclamations were issued out against papists ; sir Thomas Wentworth, an active leader of the commons, was towards the beginning of this session, as sir John Savil had been at the end of the last, called up into the lord's house, being made viscount Wentworth, and lord president of the north.

But the honours of these persons (whose parts the king, who well understood men, thought worthy of his favour and employment) seeming
the

The rewards of sedition, and the spoils of destructive counsels, the demagogues were more eager in the pursuit of that which they had attained to, by the like arts: and therefore, despising all the king's obliging practices, in the next session they assumed the power of reforming church and state, called the customers into question for levying tonage and poundage, made now their invectives, as they formerly did against the duke, against the lord-treasurer Weston; so that it appeared, that not the persons of men, but the king's trust of them, was the object of their envy; and his favour, though never so virtuous, marked them out for ruin: and upon these points they raised the heat to such a degree, that, fearing they should be dissolved ere they had time to vent their passions they began a violence upon their own body, they locked the doors of the house, kept the key thereof in their own pockets, held the speaker by strong hands in the chair, till they had thundered out their votes, like dreadful Anathemates, against those that should levy, and, which was more ranting, against such as should willingly pay the tonage and poundage. This force the king went with his guard of pensioners to remove; which they hearing adjourned the house; and the king, in the house of Lords, declaring the injustice of those vipers who destroyed their own liberty, dissolved the parliament.

While the winds of sedition raged thus furiously at home, more gentle gales came from abroad. The French king's designs upon other places required peace from us, and therefore the signiory of Venice, by her ambassadors, was moved to procure an accord betwixt Charles and Lewis; which the king accepted: and not long after, in the
year

year 1629, the Spaniards, pressed with equal necessities, desired amity ; which was also granted.

The king, being thus freed from his domestic embroilments and foreign enmities, soon made the world see his skill in the arts of empire, and rendered himself abroad more considerable than any of his predecessors : and he was more glorious in the eyes of the good, and more satisfied in his own breast, by confirming peace with prudence, than if he had finished wars with destroying arms : so that his sceptre was the caduceus to arbitrate the differences of the potentates of Europe. His subjects likewise tasted the sweetness of a reign which Heaven indulged with all its favours, but only that of valuing their happiness. While other nations weltered in blood, his people enjoyed a profound peace, and that plenty which the freedom of commerce brings along with it.

While the king dispensed these blessings to the people, Heaven was liberal to him in giving him a son to inherit his dominions, on the twentieth of May, 1630 ; which was so great matter of rejoycing to the people of uncorrupted minds, that Heaven seemed also concerned in the exultation, kindling another fire more than ordinary, making a star to be seen the same day at noon.

For this great blessing the king gave public thanks to the author of it, almighty God, at St. Paul's church ; and God was pleased with a numerous issue afterwards to increase his happiness.

Prospering thus in peace at home, a small time assisted his frugality to get such a treasure, and gave him leisure to form such counsels, as might curb the insolence of his enemies abroad. He confederated with other princes to give a check to the Austrian greatness, assisting by his treasure,
arms

arms and counsel, the king of Sweeden, to deliver the oppressed German states from the imperial oppressions; and, when Gustavus's fortune made him insolent, and he would impose unequal conditions upon the platgrave, the king's brother-in-law, he constrained him, notwithstanding his victories, to more easy articles.

In the year 1632, some tumults in Ireland shewed a defect in that government, which made the king send over as deputy thither the lord Wentworth, a most accomplished person in affairs of government. The king's choice of him he soon justified, by reducing that tumultuary people to such a condition of peace and security as it had never seen since its first annexion to this crown; and made it pay the charges of its own government, which before was deducted out of the English treasury: their peace and laws now opening accessess for plenty.

This enjoyment of peace and plenty through all the king's dominions made him mindful of employing some fruits of it to the honour of that God who caused it; and not to let so great a prosperity wholly corrupt the minds of men to a neglect of religion, which is usual. He shewed his own zeal for the ornaments of it, and spent part of his treasure towards the repair of St. Paul's church, and by his example, admonitions and commands, drew many of his subjects to a contribution for it.

Some reasons of state drew the king from London on the thirteenth of May, 1633, to receive the imperial crown of Scotland. He himself declared that he had no great stomach to the journey, nor delight in the nation, being a race of men that, under the scheme of an honest animosity and specious plain dealing, were most perfidious. Yet,

as

as he had been nobly treated all along his journey by the English nobility, so was he there magnificently received and crowned at Edinburgh, on the tenth of June. But the king soon found all those careffes false: for the nobility and laic patrons could not digest his revocation, though legal and innocent, of such things as had been stolen from the crown during his father's minority, with a commission for surrendry of superiorities and tithes to be retaken from the king by the present occupants (who could as then pretend to no other title than the unjust usurpation of their ancestors) on such conditions as might bring some profit to the crown, to which they justly belonged, some augmentation to the clergy, and far more ease and benefit to the common people, whom, by advantage of those illegal tenures, they oppressed with a most bitter vassalage.

This act of his majesty being so full of equity and public good, those whose greatness was founded upon injustice, did not barefacedly oppose it, but endeavoured to hinder that and all the other designs of peace and order, by opposing in the parliament next after the coronation, the act of ratification of all those laws which king James had made in that nation, for the better regulating the affairs of that church, both as to the government and worship of it.

This was highly opposed by such as were sensible of their diminution by a legal restitution of their unrighteous possessions; and, although the king carried it by a major part of voices, yet, to prevent their own fires with the public ruin, they represented it among the people as the abetting of popery, and the betraying their spiritual liberty to the Romish yoke. These calumnies received more credit by the king's order for a more
decent



decent and reverend worship of God at his royal chapel at Edinburgh, conformably to the English usage.

Their noise grew lowder by the consent of their party of malcontents in England, who also took advantage to diffuse their poisons from the king's book of sports, which king James had in his time published in Lancashire, and was now ratified by king Charles for a more universal observance. The occasion of which was the apostasy of many to popery, whose doctrines and practices are more indulgent to the licentious, through the rigid opinions of some preachers, who equalled all recreations on the sabbath, as they called it, to the most prodigious transgressions.

On the contrary, some of the ignorant teachers had perverted many to downright Judaism, by the consequence of so strict an observance of the sabbath: and some over-busy justices of peace had suppressed all the ancient feasts of the dedication of churches.

The king therefore intended by this edict to obstruct the success of the enemies on both sides, and to free his people from the yoke of this superstition: but, such is the weakness of human prudence, that the remedies it applies to one inconvenience are pregnant of another; and whereas the generality of men seldom do good but as necessitated by law, when liberty is indulged, all things are soon filled with disorder and confusion: and so it happened in this, that the vulgar, abusing the king's liberty, which was no more than is granted in other protestant churches, and committing many indecencies, made many well-tempered spirits too capable and credulous of those importunate calumnies of the faction, that his majesty was not well-affected to religion.

In

In the year 1634, the boldness of the Pickeroons, Turks, and Dunkirk-pirates infesting our coasts, damaging our traffic, the usurpation of the Holland fishers on the king's dominion in the narrow seas, and his right disputed in a tract by the learned Grotius, required the king's next cares for his own honour, and the people's safety. But the remedy appeared exceeding difficult; the furnishing a navy for so honourable an undertaking being too heavy a burden for his exchequer; which, although not emptied by any luxurious feasts, nor profusely wasted on some prodigal and unthrifty favourite, nor lavished on ambitious designs, from all which destructions of treasure no king was more free, was but just sufficient for ordinary and necessary expences of state and majesty: and though it was most just for him to expect the people's contributions to their own safety, who were never richer than now, nor had they ever more security for their riches than they now had by his concessions of liberty; yet, knowing how powerful the faction always was to disturb the counsels of parliament, he feared that from their proceedings the common enemies would be encouraged, as formerly, to higher insolencies, and the envious demagogues would contemn their own safety to ruin his honour. He also accounted it an unhappiness to be necessitated to maintain his state by extraordinary ways, and therefore refused to renew privy-seals and loans, the use of which he debarred himself of in granting the petition of right. Therefore he consulted his attorney-general Noy, whether the prerogative had yet any thing left to save an unwilling people. Noy acquainted him with ancient precedents of raising a tax upon the nation for setting forth a navy in case of danger; and assures him of the legallity of the way in proceeding
by

The king being returned to Oxford, the parliament, wearied with the complaints of the oppressed nation, who now grew impatient under the distractions, took into consideration his majesty's two messages for peace, and sent propositions for it in the name of the two parliaments of England and Scotland, united by solemn league and covenant. Which, though they seemed the desires of minds that intended nothing less than the common tranquillity, yet the king neglected them not; but, hoping that in a treaty, commissioners might argue them into reason, offered it, which, with much difficulty the houses were drawn to accept; but yet would have it at Uxbridge, a place but about fifteen miles distant from London, and above twice that distance from Oxford: and accordingly commissioners from both parties met on the thirtieth of January.

While the king was providing for the treaty, and forming instructions for his ministers, the faction found the parliament other work by new designs; and, to habituate the people to an abhorrence of peace, fed them with blood. The two Hothams first were to be the sport of the multitude; and, that the father might have more than a single death, he was drawn back in his journey to the scaffold, on the thirty-first of December, that his son might be executed before him, as he was on the first of January; when, after he had expressed his fury to those masters whom they had served to their ruins, his head was chopped off: and, on the second of January, the father was brought to the place that was defiled with his son's blood, and had his own added to it. ---Archbishop Laud was executed immediately after these.

About this time the faction clove into two sects the presbyterian and independant ; which hitherto had been united under one name of patriots, or godly, and had jointly conspired war and disturbed the peace. For they would either early in the morning, before the house was full, or late at night, when those whose cares were most for the public were absent, being assured of the speaker propose and vote what served for their design. If any thing contrary to it was about to be resolved in a full assembly, they, by multitude of scruples would so disturb the debates, that the determination was deferred to a desired opportunity. But if these failed, then would they surprize the house with another vote that should weaken and hinder the execution of the former. When the most conscientious were too numerous for them, then would they find means to send the less pliant to their wills into the country. Thus the lesser, but more industrious, party circumvented the greater that were not so wary or diligent.

While they thus jointly contrived the public ruin, they had gotten themselves into the most considerable and profitable offices of the kingdom. But the presbyterians, having the advantage in number and power, and the dissention in their opinions growing still higher, by the animosities of the inferior and obscurer parts of their sects there was neither faith nor love among them, but what fear and necessity did force them to. The independents, who comprehended all the several herds of heretics, anabaptists, seekers, millenarists &c. though they were the disciples of the other yet excelled their masters in art and industry, had their private juntas and meetings apart to mould their projects, and assign to each of their confident the

their several scenes and methods; and, by proper applications to mens several humours, had exceedingly encreased their strength in the multitude, only they wanted the power of the sword, and the most useful offices, to perfect their empire.

This they effected by those very practices they had learned from the presbyterians; and by procuring the ordinance of self-denial, as they called it, they turned out Essex from his generalship, and with him all those other leaders that were favourers of the presbytery, under pretence that it was not fit that any members of the parliament should be encouraged to a continuance of the war by enjoying the profitable and powerful offices in the army, to which they would now give a new form.

Having by this artifice displaced those whose power they feared, they brought in as many candidates of their own sect as they could to be colonels, and sir Thomas Fairfax was appointed general. This man was the more acceptable to both parties, because he was known to be of sufficient personal valour, and of no private designs, obstinate by a natural melancholy, rather than pertinacious in any interest, and rather free from baseness, than ambitious of vain-glory. By all these qualities they supposed he would be obedient to the resolves of his masters. But the independants, that were better informed of his flexible spirit, and how easily he might be imposed upon by a species of religion, got the great patron of all the sectaries, Oliver Cromwell, at first to be admitted into his counsels, and afterwards to be the director of all his actions, under the title of lieutenant-general: for, though he likewise, by the self-denying ordinance was made incapable of any office in the army, being a member of the parliament; yet those troops of

fanatics whom he had amassed, and formerly led under the command of the lord Grey of Wark, and the earl of Manchester, were instructed to refuse the conduct of any one but him. He was therefore permitted by the parliament, as the general desired, for a time to continue in the army; but he never left it till he had changed that, ruined the parliament, and turned out the general, that thus was the author of his unlawful power.

With these tragedies and changes was the winter spent in London, while the king at Oxford waited for the issue of the treaty at Uxbridge, which, as all other consultations for peace, was vain and fruitless; for the faction would always obstruct those endeavours by their usual methods. Therefore the commissioners of parliament were instructed to offer no expedient for an accommodation, nor hearken to such as were tendered to them in the name of the king.

His majesty, seeing and bewailing his condition, that he must still have to do with those that were enemies to peace, prepared himself for war at the approaching spring; and, although this winter was infamous with many losses, either through the neglect or perfidiousness of some officers; yet, before the season for taking the field was come, his counsels and diligence had repaired those damages.

In April, 1645, he sent the prince to perfect the western association, and raise such forces as the necessities of the crown, which was his inheritance, required. With him was sent, as moderator of his youth, and prime counsellor, sir Edward Hyde, afterwards lord high chancellor of England.

After their departure, the king drew out his army to relieve his northern counties and garrisons; but being on his march, and having stormed and
taken

taken. Leicester in his way, he was called back to secure Oxford, which the parliament army threatened with a siege. But Fairfax, having gotten a letter of the lord Goring's to his majesty, wherein he had desired him to forbear engaging with the enemy, till he could be joined by him; he left Oxford, and made directly towards the king, who was now come back as far as Daventry, with an intention to fight him before that addition of strength; and, at a place near Naseby, in Northamptonshire, both armies met on Saturday the fourteenth of June, Cromwell having then also brought some fresh troops to Fairfax. Nevertheless, the king would not decline the battle, and had the better at first; but his vanquishing horse following the chase of their enemies too far, left the foot open to the other wing, who pressing hotly upon them, put them to an open rout; and so became masters of his canon, camp and carriage, and, among these, of his majesty's cabinet; in which they found many of his letters, most of them written to the queen; which they printed, that, by discovering his secret thoughts, designed only for the breast of his wife, to the debauched multitude, the popular hatred might be encreased. But the publication of them produced quite a contrary effect; every one that was not barbarous, abhorred that inhumanity among Christians, which generous heathens scorned to be guilty of; and the letters discovered that the king was hitherto unjustly represented. Upon the whole, he grew greater in honour by this defeat, though he never after recovered any considerable power.

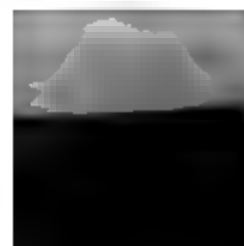
The fate of this battle had an inauspicious influence upon all his remaining forces, and every day his losses were repeated; but, though fortune had left the king, yet had not his valour; therefore,

gathering up the remains of his scattered army, he marched up and down to encourage those whose faith changed not with his condition. At last, attempting to relieve Chester, though he was beset behind and before, and his horse wearied in such tedious and restless marches, yet at first he beat Poyntz off that followed: but being charged with fresh soldiers from the leaguer, and a greater number, he was forced to retreat, and leave some of his gallant followers dead upon the place.

After this, he drew towards the north-east, and commanded the lord Digby, with the horse that were left, to march for Scotland, and there to join with Montross, who, with an inconsiderable company of men, had got victories there so prodigious, that they looked like miracles. But this lord was surprised before he could get out of Yorkshire; for his horse having taken seven hundred of the enemy's foot, were so wanton with success, that they were easily mastered by another party, and he himself was compelled to fly into Ireland.

These several overthrows brought another mischief along with them; discord soon prevailed among the king's officers: but many gallant persons, whom loyalty and religion had drawn to his service, endured the utmost hazards before they delivered the holds he had committed to their trusts, and by that means employing the enemies arms, gave the king time, who was at last returned to Oxford: to provide for his safety.

There he was greatly perplexed by the importunities of his own disconsolate party to seek for conditions of peace, which he saw was in vain to expect would be such as were fit to accept; for his former experience assured him, that these men would follow the counsels of their fortune, and be more insolent now than ever; and for himself, he



he was resolved not to sacrifice his conscience to safety, nor his honour to life.

But yet, to satisfy every one how tender he was of the common safety, he sent several messages to the parliament for a treaty, and offered to come himself to London, if he might have security for himself and attendants. All which were either not regarded, or answered with reproaches: and, because the people began to murmur at so great an earnestness of the faction to continue the wounds of the nation open and bleeding, and it was the common belief that these men sought for victory, not peace and liberty, which was now tendred; therefore, to raise suspicions in the vulgar, it was suggested that the cavaliers who came to compound would take the advantage of the king's presence, if he were permitted to be there, and kindle a new flame and war in the city.

The king finding these men irreconcilable to peace, and that they had declared against his coming, though without a caution, tried the leaders of the English army; but they proved no less pertinacious, and were now approaching to besiege Oxford. Providence not leaving any more choice, but only shewing him a way for a present escape, he went in a disguise to the Scottish camp that was now before Newark, where the ambassador of the king of France, who was then in league, had before covenanted for his majesty's safety and protection; and the Scottish officers had engaged to secure both him and as many of his party as should seek for shelter with them, and to stand to him with their lives and fortunes.

In the year 1646, the king being come thither on the fourth of May, made a great alteration in affairs; Newark was surrendered by the king's command, and sir Thomas Glemham, having

gallantly defended Oxford till the besiegers offered honourable conditions, delivered up that also. But the greatest change of counsels was at London, where, when it was related among whom the king had sought a sanctuary, various and different discourses were raised.

While people discoursed thus of the king's journey, the parliament, heated by the independants, fiercely declared against the Scots, who were removing the king to Newcastle, and used several methods to make them odious and drive them home. But the Scots themselves for a time justified their reception and preservation of his majesty by the laws of nature, nations, and hospitality, which forbid the delivery and betraying of those that have fled to any for succour. The Democratic faction urged that it was not lawful for the Scots, their hirelings, and in their dominion, to receive the king into their camp without the leave of their masters, and then to keep him without their consent.

These debates were used to raise the king's price : which, when the Scots were almost assured of, to make their ware more valuable, they solicited the king, to command Montross to depart from his noble undertakings in Scotland, where he had almost recovered the overthrow Roxbrough and Traquaire had betrayed him unto, and was become formidable again ; as also the loyal marquis of Ormond to desist from his gallant oppositions both of the Irish rebels and English forces ; which when the king had done, they tendered him the covenant ; pretending, without that chain upon him, they did not dare to lead him into Scotland. This his majesty refused not, if they would first remove those scruples of church-government which lay upon his conscience : therefore, to obviate that difficulty,

sculty, master Henderson, that was then the oracle of the kirk, and the great apostle of the solemn covenant, was employed to converse with him: but the greatness of the king's parts, and the goodness of his cause, made all his attempts vain and unfortunate; for he returned home, and not long after died, as some report, of a grief contracted from his injuries to a prince whom he had found so excellent.

While these things were transacting at Newcastle, the bargain was struck at London, and for two hundred thousand pounds his majesty, stripped of those arms he had when he came among them, was delivered up to some commissioners from the parliament: but to palliate their perfidiousness, they added this caution, That there should be no attempt made upon the king's person, but being entertained at one of his own palaces, he should there be treated with upon propositions from both nations, which should speedily be sent to him. But the parliament never thought of sending any propositions till he came under the power of the army, who had malicious designs upon his person.

The commissioners receiving him, conveyed him to his own house at Holmeby. This was a very curious and stately building, yet was not chosen because it might be a majestic prison; but because it was within sight of Naseby, which was infamous with his overthrow, that so the neighbourhood to it might more afflict his grieved spirit. To this they added other hardships, by making the restraint so strict that they suffered none to come near him, that by owning his cause were assured of their welcome; yea, even his chaplains were debarred from their ministry: but God supplied this want

want by more plentiful assistances of his holy spirit, and composed those divine meditations and soliloquies that are in his book, spending that time in holy converse with Heaven, which he was not suffered to employ with those men in whom he delighted.

While the king's soul was thus raised above the walls of his prison, they that had put an end to the war, yet could not find the way to peace; for their souls were unequal to the victory, and could not temper their success, the two sects falling to dissention, and turning all their arts and arms one against another. The presbyterians had the richer and more splendid followers; but the independents the most fierce, subtle, and most strongly principled to confusion: the first were powerful in the parliament, but the latter in the army.

The independents gained ground on their antagonists, making the presbyterians odious, by libels composed to render their government ridiculous and tyrannical, by putting them upon all the most invidious employments, as reforming the universities, and sequestering ministers that refused to take the covenant.

Not contented to deal thus with their elder brethren, by spoiling them of their honour, they proceeded to strip them of the remains of their armed power, surprising them in parliament with a vote to disband all the soldiers that were not in Fairfax's army. Then the general turned out those commanders of garrisons that were any way inclined to them. Besides this, they either corrupted with gifts, or frightened some of the most busy, yet obnoxious, presbyterians, either wholly to come over to them. or be the instruments in disturbing and revealing the counsels of that party.

In

In the year 1647, the presbyterians at last awakened with the daily wounds of their power and the dishonour of their party, began now to be more afraid of their stipendaries than they were of their sovereign; for they found that they lost all that by the victory which they fought by the war: therefore, to break the confidence of the independents, and make themselves free, they voted in the parliament, where they had most voices, That to ease the commonwealth of the charges in maintaining the army, twelve thousand of the soldiers should be sent over to Ireland, and all the rest to be disbanded, except six thousand horse, two thousand dragoons, and six thousand foot, who should be placed in different and distant places in the nation, to prevent any insurrection.

The commanders and independents soon discovered the artifice, that it was not to ease the nation but weaken them; therefore they employed the inferior officers to possess the common soldiers with a fear of disbanding them without their arrears, or else to be sent into that unquiet island to perish with hunger and cold, and the surprizes of a treacherous enemy.

This presently set the army to mutiny, which raised the indignation of the commanders, who at first seemed busy to compose it; and Cromwell, to make the parliament secure, called God to witness, that he was assured the army would, at their first command, cast their arms at their feet; and again solemnly swore, that he had rather himself, with his whole family, should be consumed than that the army should break into sedition: yet, in the mean time, he and his creatures in the army administered new fuel to the flames of it; and when they had raised their fury to such heat that it was at last concocted to a perfect defection from all obedience

obedience to the parliament, they laid aside their disguises, and went post from London to the head quarters, where the synagogue of agitators was seated, and to whom was committed the management of this conspiracy:

This conventicle was made up of two of the most factious in every regiment of foot, and each troop of horse. Their business was to consult the interest of the whole army; and when they had moulded their pretences and arts to their grand design, to instruct the ruder part of it in their clamours, and to corrupt all the garrisons by emissaries to the same enterprises. At last they extended their cares to the whole British empire, and dictated what their pleasures were concerning England and Ireland: and, because about an hundred officers in the army would not be forward in the sedition, they were by this committee of adjutators, and the secret orders of the commanders, cashiered.

Thus the designs of both parties being directed to overthrow the opposite, each thought the person and presence of the king would be an advantage to them: therefore the presbyterians had it in consultation, to order colonel Greves, who had the command of the guard about the king at Holmeby, to remove his majesty to London: the intelligence of which coming to the army by the treachery of a certain lord, they immediately sent a body of horse to prevent them, and to force him into their own quarters.

The independents, to tempt him to a confidence in their integrity, pretended to a compassionate sense of his sufferings, and complained of the parliament's barbarous imprisoning him in his own palaces, wondering they had no more reverence for majesty, To get a belief of this, they professed that they would never part with their arms
till

till they made his way to his throne, and rendered the condition of his party more tolerable. Besides these promises they allowed him the ministry of his chaplains in the worship of God, the commerce of letters with the queen; the visits of his own party, and the service of his courtiers; some of whom they also admitted to their council of war; moulded propositions in his behalf, and altered them to the king's gust and at his advice.

By all these impostures they prevailed nothing upon the hopes or fears of the king; nor did he commit any thing unworthy his former fortune, and the greatness of his integrity and wisdom, or which any of the disagreeing factions could turn to his reproach. But they found another kind of success upon the parliament, for they sacrificed to the commands of their stipendaries eleven members of the house of commons, and seven of the peers, causing them to forbear sitting among them, because they had been accused by the army in a very frivolous charge. Besides this, they were so prone to slavery that they had gone on to vote all the lusts of the army, had not a tumult from London stopped them in their violent speed, and kept the speaker in his chair till they had voted more generously. That it was neither for their honour nor interest to satisfy the demands of the soldiers; and that the king should come to London to treat.

Both parties then prepared for war. With the one hundred and forty members who sat in parliament were joined the city, and the cashiered officers and soldiers that had served in their pay. With the army were the speakers of both houses, who had fled to them with about fifty of their members that projected the change of government, being either for an oligarchy or democracy.

The

The advantage was clear on the army's side, which consisted of veteran soldiers, united among themselves by a long converse, and known commanders: but the force of the other was made up of a tumultuary multitude, gathered under new leaders, and so had no mutual confidence. Therefore, in the very beginning, the parliament and city deserted their enterprize, treated with, and opened their gates to the army, who marched in triumph through London, bringing the speakers and their fellow-travellers to their chairs; seized upon the Tower, dismantled the fortifications, pulled down all the chains and posts of the city, sent the lord-mayor and the chief citizens to the Tower, and reduced all the power of the nation in obedience to the commanders; for Fairfax was made general of all the forces both in England and Ireland; and Rainsbrough, a leveller, and a violent head of the democratics, high-admiral.

The impeached presbyterians fled beyond sea, others of the sect drooping complied with the fortunes of the conquerors; and what grieved good men most, was a public thanksgiving to God appointed for the army; and they were entertained now at a feast, whom before the city would have forced from their walls.

The army having now the greatest strength of the nation, the parliament and city at their obedience, made no mention of their former promises to the king; only the adjutants were fierce for breaking the parliament, and calling another, as they called it, more equal representative. But both their synagogue and the council of war, being now delivered from the fear of the presbyterians, began to contrive the destruction both of the king and monarchy. As for the king, whom they had now brought to Hampton-court, some that had
before

before contrived his death, and to murder him while he was in the Scotch camp, yet could not then perform it, were now fierce for a speedy and secret assassination by pistol or poison. Others would have him tried and condemned by their council of war. But the chiefs thought fit to proceed more artificially in their crime; and when they should get more authority, destroy him by a parliamentary way of justice.

To proceed therefore to their impiety, Cromwell and his creatures stickled fiercely in the house of commons, and caused the parliament to send, not conditions of peace to be treated on, but propositions, like commands, that admitted no dispute; which if the king had yielded to, he had divested himself of majesty, and been thought guilty of so much want of spirit, as would discover an unfitness for empire; besides, such a voluntary diminution would have been equally unsafe, as unglorious: and, if he did not, then he was to be esteemed the only obstacle of the universal peace. And, lest the king should put them to more tedious arts by signing them, they themselves, to divert him, privately procured more soft articles, and professed to be sorry the presbyterian sowerness still leavened the house, which made these propositions so unpleasant.

The king could not but perceive the practices of the army, yet being resolved that no dangers whatsoever should make him yield to those unreasonable demands of the parliament, which granted would have been the heaviest oppression on his subjects, and the greatest injury to his posterity, he could be guilty of:—therefore, to make his denial of them advantageous to himself, by a seeming confidence in the army's offers, the king absolutely rejected the parliament's propositions, and required
the

the demands of the army as more equal and fit for a personal treaty, and that the army also should nominate commissioners.

Cromwell and his accomplices seemed to be joyful for this answer of his majesty, which had preferred them before their competitors to the honour of justice and moderation in the eyes of the people ; but yet secretly they exasperated the minds of the more short-sighted commons against the king for this affront : and to the king they professed a shame and a trouble upon their spirits that they could not now perform their promises: sometimes they excused themselves by a reverence to the parliament, at other times by a fierceness of the adjutators ; and when by these excuses they had coloured their delays to some length, they began to interpret their sayings otherwise than the king apprehended them, to forget what they had assured him of, and at last openly to refuse any performance.

To all these perfidies, they added other frauds, to beget a fear in him of the adjutators and the levellers, who they informed him meditated his murder ; professed they could not for the present moderate their bloody and impetuous consultations, but when they should recover the lost discipline of their army, then they might easily and speedily fulfil their engagements to him.

To give credit to their words, the fury of the adjutators was blown to a more conspicuous flame, their papers were published for a change of government, called, “ The Case of the Army ;” and “ The Agreement of the People ;” the insolent expression of Peters, and another of the same diabolical spirit, saying, His majesty was but a dead dog, were divulged, and all were communicated to some attendants about the king, with an advice
from

from the chiefs of the army to escape for his life ; for they were unwilling he should be killed while they looked on.

The fury and menaces of men of such destructive and bloody principles, were not to be despised ; nor was the king to abandon his life, if he could without sin preserve it to a longer waiting upon God. Therefore, with three of his most trusty attendants, in the dark, tempestuous and ominous night of the eleventh of November, he left Hampton-court, some say, uncertain where to seek safety ; others, that he intended to take ship ; but being disappointed in his expectation, he was at last fatally led into the power, and, when he could not escape, committed himself to the loyalty and honour of colonel Hammond, a confidant of Cromwell's, who had been but a little before made governor of the Isle of Wight for this very purpose, and was by him conveyed to Carisbrook-castle, the very pit his enemies had designed for him : for it was discoursed in the army, above a fortnight before, that the king ere long would be in the Isle of Wight ; and the very night he departed from Hampton-court, the centinels were withdrawn from their usual posts, on purpose to facilitate his flight

Being here in this false harbour, he minded that business which lay most on his heart, the settlement of the nation. He sent concessions to the parliament more benign and easy than they could desire or hope, together with his reasons why he could not assent to their demands ; and earnestly solicited them to pity the languishing kingdom, and come to a personal treaty with him, on his concessions and the army's demands.

But the conspirators, to cut off all hopes of a treaty, took this occasion to send four preliminary articles, which if he would pass as acts, they would treat of the rest. These were so unjust, that the Scotch commissioners, in the name of their kingdom, declared against them in public writings, and following the messengers of parliament to the Isle of Wight, in the presence of his majesty protested against them, as contrary to the religion, the crown, and constitutions of both kingdoms.

The king, according to his wonted wisdom and greatness of mind, presently returned them an answer, to shew the injustice of having him grant the chief things before the treaty, which should be the subject of it, and to give them such an arbitrary power to the ruin of all people. This answer he delivered sealed to their messengers, who desired that they might hear it read, and that they might be dealt with as commissioners, not as bare carriers, and promised upon their honour that it should not be any prejudice to him. But his majesty had no sooner read it, than they finding it not to the gust of those that sent them, notwithstanding the faith they had given, caused their just sovereign to be kept close prisoner, forced away his chaplains, Dr. Sheldon, since lord-bishop of London, and Dr. Hammond; both which he high'y valued for their integrity, wisdom, piety and learning; and his other servants, even those whom the parliament had placed formerly about him, and in whom his goodness had wrought both an affection and admiration of him, and permit none about him but such as they hoped would be a watch upon him, and whose barbarous souls might trample on his fortune. Besides, they set strict guards at his doors and windows, lest any letters might come to him, or be sent from him.

The



The like reception his letter found with the parliament; for Cromwell and his officers were resolved to go on with their design; and having so long used the adjutators, as served to frighten the king into the toils they had set, they soon quieted them, by executing some of their most pertinacious leaders; and, being free from that care, applied their practices wholly to the destruction of his majesty. To this purpose they moulded the four votes for No Addresses to the King; but before they brought them into public, they sent into their several counties about forty or fifty of the principal members, who they thought would oppose, to raise money for the soldiers. Nevertheless, the first of those votes was contested so strongly, that the debates lasted from ten o'clock in the morning till seven in the evening; and, though they thus wearied the more honest party, yet could it not pass till the conspirators had engaged that no worse thing should be done to the king. The remaining votes were dispatched in half an hour's time, when those of the more sober principles were gone forth to refresh themselves, and the conspirators still kept their seats.

The house of peers were not so hasty in them as the commons had been, and their debates vexed the conspirators with delays, till those who were sent by the army to thank the lower house for their consent to these desires of the soldiers, threatened the upper house for their long deliberations. Some new terrors were also added, for they quartered two of their regiments at White Hall, under colour of guarding the parliament, but in reality to work upon the lords; which had its effect; for many that had the most honourable views in this business forsook the parliament, and then

three or four joined with the commons in their votes for no addresses.

This prodigious perfidiousness in parliament and army, filled all men with amazement and indignation, to see how little they valued their faith, who pretended so high to religion; therefore each of them was obliged to satisfy common fame. Cromwell to some would have covered this impiety with another, that as he was praying for a blessing from God on his undertakings, to restore the king to his pristine majesty, his tongue cleaved to the roof of his mouth, that he could not speak one word more; which he took as a return of prayer, and that God had rejected him from being king. To others he impudently asserted, That it was lawful to circumvent a wicked man with deceit and frauds.

The conspirators in the parliament strove to palliate their proceedings by a declaration, and assign in it for causes of their perjuries, all the calumnies that had been raised against the king by his most professed enemies; or from those uncertain rumours which themselves had invented: adding and repeating others which had even in the parliament house been condemned as forgeries. Which infamous libel they caused to be sent to all the parishes of the kingdom, to be divulged, supposing that none dared to refute their black and pernicious slanders; or that none could publicly do it, because they set strict watches upon all the printing-presses. They likewise commanded the curates to read it in their several churches, and recommend it to the people.

But all these their cursed projects failed, for several answers to their defamations were published, one writ by the king himself, another by sir Edward Hyde, and a third by Dr. Bates; all which proved

proved the monstrous falshoods of their paper, and that the faction was guilty of what they imputed to the king ; and this with such evidence, that none of their most mercenary writers, or the most foul-mouthed conspirators, dared to reply to them with the hopes of success. The curates coldly, if at all, observed their orders ; and there came so few petitions, and those signed by such contemptible persons, that they rather loaded the faction with more hatred, than gave any credit. While none of the people could contain their fury against these impostors, but publicly cursed them and their infamous adherents.

Their miseries were more highly embittered by the uncertainty of a remedy : for the parliament, that had the name of government, were slaves to those whose interest it was to keep us thus miserable ; and if at any time they were free from the yoke of the army, the two sects kept them so divided, each party labouring by votes and counsel to circumvent the other, that they could not mind the general good : besides, the power they exercised was too much to be well used, for they engrossed the legislative authority, and the exercise of jurisdiction : so that they made laws according to their interest, and executed them according to their caprice. This day's vote contradicted the former day's order, and to-morrow we must violate what to-day we solemnly swore to observe ; so that men knew not what to obey, nor where to rest. Thus all hopes of liberty and peace were lost in confinement of the king, who only was found able and willing to put an end to our miseries.

These considerations caused several attempts for his deliverance, some private, and others more public. The first was managed by those servants whom the parliament had placed about him ; for

these won by his goodness, of which they were daily witnesses, twice plotted his escape, and ventured their lives for his liberty but failed in both designs; and the last being discovered before it could be carried into execution, one Rolfe, a bloody villain, waited to kill him as he should descend from his chamber.

Inraged with their own oppressions and the misery of their prince, men in most counties, even of those that had adhered to the parliament, now vexed that they had been so basely deluded, drew up petitions for a personal treaty with the king; that the army's arrears being paid, they should immediately be disbanded; that relief should be sent into Ireland, and England quite eased of the contribution, which they could no longer bear. To these petitions there were such innumerable subscriptions, that the officers of the army and parliament were mad to see their threats of sequestration, imprisonment and death, make no impression; and the promises they likewise made were slighted, because contradicted by their former perjuries.

The first petitioners were the Essex men, which came in such numbers as had not been seen before, as if they would force, not intreat for, what was necessary. After them these of Surry, whom, by the command of the officers and parliament-men, the soldiers assaulted at the parliament-doors, killed some, wounded more, and plundered all; and for this brave exploit upon unarmed petitioners, they had the thanks of the commons, and a largess for their valour; that so the people might be terrified from offering petitions, which before the very same men had declared to be the birthright of every Englishman.

But

But all their tyranny upon the complaining nation prevailed nothing but to provoke them to a higher indignation and more frequent petitions: and, when they perceived they dealt with men obstinate to their own interest, which were not to be gained but by the public ruin, from prayers they had recourse to arms, and entitled their just war, for the liberty of king and people: and in several places, as in Kent, Essex, Suffolk, Norfolk, Cornwall, Yorkshire, Wales, and at last in Surry, multitudes took up arms for this righteous cause. The navy also quitted them, and setting Rainsbrough, their levelling admiral on shore, seventeen ships delivered themselves up to the prince of Wales. The Scots likewise, by an order of their own parliament sent into England an army under Hamilton.

But all was in vain, God had decreed other triumphs for his majesty, and to translate him to another kingdom: for the English being but tumultarily raised, having no train of artillery or ammunition considerable, were soon suppressed by a veteran army provided with all necessaries. The Scots, either through the weakness or wickedness of their commanders, who made so disorderly a march, that their van and rear were forty miles asunder, were easily worsted by Cromwell, who surprised their main body, and Hamilton was taken prisoner. Cromwell followed the scattered parties into Scotland, where they were likewise assaulted by Argyle, a domestic enemy, and forced to submit those arms the parliament had put into their hands to the faction of that false earl; who called another parliament, from which all were excluded that in the former voted for the king's delivery, and all the orders of that convention made void. Cromwell had the public thanks, and the pri-

were fifth of August, to endavour, as opportunities permitted, the extinction of monarchy out of Scotland.

The navy also deserted the prince, being corrupted by the earl of Warwick, who was appointed for that service, and when he had ingloriously lost the battle, he turned to the lawful prince, his father, and was immediately welcomed by the commons.

[illegible][illegible]

and also condemned by the army itself as too unjust. The commissioners were so streightned in power, that it was not lawful for them to soften any one of the conditions of peace, nor to alter the preface, or change the order of the propositions, nor to debate a subsequent till the precedent was agreed on. They could conclude nothing; they were only to propose the demands, urge reasons for the royal assent, receive the king's answer, and refer all in writing to the parliament, whose slow resolves, and the delays of sending, were supposed would consume that narrow measure of time which was appointed to debate so many and so different things, for they were limited to forty days. The commissioners they sent, were five of the lord's house and twelve of the commoners, and with them some of their presbyterian ministers, who were to press importunately for their church-government, to elude the king's arguments for episcopacy, and only to impose, not to dispute, their own.

With all these, upon so many several and different propositions, some relating to the law of the land, others to reasons of state, and some to the practices of the apostolical primitive churches, the king was to deal without public assistance: for though he was permitted the ministry of some officers of state, counsellors and divines, yet were they but of private advice, and to stand behind the curtain; he only himself was to speak in the debate, and singly to manage matters of policy with their most experienced statists, and the points of divinity, with their best-studied divines.

The king's incredible prudence had found temperaments for their most harsh propositions; and, by a present judgment and commanding eloquence, he so urged his own, and refuted their arguments, that he forced an admiration of himself, and, which
was

was a testimony of the divine assistance, drew many of the unwilling commissioners to his own opinion; with a wonderful lenity proved their demands unjust, yet granted what was not directly against his honour and conscience. Thus divesting himself of his own rights, he demonstrated that he had those affections which might justly stile him, the father of his country; for he endeavoured by his own losses to repair the damages of his people. Yet the king saw, by the obstinacy of the most powerful of those he treated with, that they intended nothing less than peace, nor any thing more than his destruction; which, that it might be adequate to their malice, they would have it accompanied with the damnation of his soul, pressing him to do those things which they themselves acknowledged sinful, as the alienation of church-lands.

Although his majesty was thus sensible of their insatiable thirst for his blood, yet because he had passed his royal word not to stir out of that island, he did not hearken to the servant, who persuaded him to provide for his safety by flight, which he assured him was not difficult, and in administering to which he offered to hazard his own life. But the king always thought his life of less consideration than his honour, and would not give his enemies that advantage over his fame, which their unjust arms and frauds had gotten upon his person.

While the treaty thus proceeded, the army, under the command of the lord Fairfax and Ireton, drew towards London, and quartered within half a day's march from the city; that, if their interest required it, they might the more suddenly oppress those who were less favourable to their enterprises. The officers at first publicly professed great modesty, yet in private practised an universal confusion; for

for mingling counsels with their factious party in the two houses, they set up again the meetings of their adjutators, framed among themselves petitions against the treaty, and to require that all delinquents, without difference, might be brought to trial; and by their emissaries abroad drew some inconsiderable persons to subscribe to them.

When they thought these practices had produced their desired effect, Ireton, under pretext of a dispute betwixt him and Fairfax, withdrew himself privately to Windsor-castle, where being met by some of his accomplices in the parliament, they jointly framed a declaration in an imperious and affected stile. Wherein, in the name of the army, he maliciously declared against all peace with the king, and his restitution to the government. Afterwards he demanded, that he might be dealt with as the grand and capital delinquent. With these he mingled some things to terrify the parliament, some to please the soldiers, and others to raise the hopes of novelty in the rabble.

This being prepared, the treaty now drawing towards an end, and the commanders having a perfect intelligence how all things in the the Isle of Wight and in the parliament strongly tended to an accommodation, they thought it now seasonable to begin their intended crime. Therefore they speedily called a council of war, at which met the colonels, and other inferior counsellors, all men of mercenary souls, seditious, covetous, and so accustomed to dissimulation, that they seemed to be composed by nature to frame and colour impostures. They began their meeting with prayers and fasting, pretending to enquire and seek the will of God concerning the wickedness they had predetermined.

Thus

after, so generous an opposition; and the house of commons sent some of their own members to acquaint the lord Fairfax and his officers of this their vote.

This free and public detestation of the crime, that was designed, extremely enraged the projectors of it; and the democratic party in the house mingled threatnings with their advices; for one of the chiefs of the faction could not forbear to assure them, that if they continued in this their resolve, they should never after have liberty of meeting there again. Which accordingly was executed: for the next day they were to meet there, the colonels had placed a guard of two regiments of foot and one of horse upon the house of commons, who strictly keeping all the avenues thereto, that none might enter without their leave, laid hold upon forty members that were persons of the most known integrity and highest resolution. They denied admission to one hundred and fifty more, and suffered none to enter of whose servile compliance they were not well assured.

The imprisoned members were vexed and tortured with great indignities, exposing them to the mockeries and insolence of the common soldiers, although there were many among them that had before commanded armies, brigades and regiments in the parliament's cause against the king; and others that had been strenuous assertors of their first injustice to their king.

The number that would serve them was not equal to the name of a parliament, being scarce the eighth part of that convention, and not much above forty in all, and those the reproach of that assembly; for besides those that were violently excluded, others that abhorred the conditions of sitting there, withdrew

But the honest members were more strongly attached to justice, and therefore not terrified with the menaces and clamours of the soldiers, but, as inspired with some unaccustomed courage this time, and thinking themselves guarded by the privileges of parliament, they appeared in the house; where the commoners reassuming the consideration of the king's concessions, continued that debate till past midnight; the factious party, and the creatures of the army still raising new doubts and scruples, multiplying cavils, and, by tedious harangues, wasting the time, that the more just party, which consisted most of gentlemen of fortune, not accustomed to such watchings and fastings, might be wearied out, and leave them to their own resolves: and also that they might give time to the whole army to march into the city that night.

Among the rest was sir Henry Vane. This man in the Isle of Wight had persuaded the king not to be prodigal in his concessions; that he had already yielded more than was fit for them to ask, or him to grant, and undertook to make it evident to the whole world: yet now he most fiercely and perfidiously inveighed against the concessions, as designed by the king, under the appearance of peace, to ruin the parliament and commonwealth. Yet at last, notwithstanding those terrors without, and troubles within, the house came to this resolve, That the king's concessions were a sufficient ground for peace: which was carried by two hundred voices, and there were scarce sixty dissenters.

The next day the same resolve was passed by the lords in the very same terms, not one dissenting; who immediately adjourned for a week, to wait whether this fury of the army would spend itself
 after

ance of those few were enough to give credit and authority to their bloody act. But, in them they were disappointed also ; for some of the peers constantly met, and on the day wherein the bill for the trial of the king was carried up, to that house, there were seventeen then present, who all unanimously rejected the bill as dangerous and illegal. This so highly provoked the fury of the faction, that they meditated a severe revenge, and for the present blotted out those peers, whose names they had before put into their ordinance, to make their court more splendid. After this they also razed out the names of the judges of the land ; for they being privately consulted concerning these proceedings against the king, answered, that it was contrary to the known laws and customs of England, that the king should be brought to trial.

To heal these two wounds which the lords and judges had branded their cause with, they used two other artifices to keep up the spirits and concurrence of their party. First, they brought from Hertfordshire a woman who said, that God, by a revelation to her, approved of the army's proceedings. Which message from Heaven was accepted of with thanks, as being very seasonable, and coming from an humble spirit. A second was, the agreement of the people ; wherein those whose abject condition had set them at a great distance from government, had their hopes raised to a share of it, if they conspired to remove the great obstruction, which was the person and life of the king. This was presented to the house of commons by sir Hardress Waller, and sixteen other officers, as a temporary remedy ; for when they had perpetrated their impiety, they discountenanced and fiercely prosecuted those that endeavoured it.

In confidence of these their arts and their present power, they enacted their bill; and for president of this court they chose one of the number, John Bradshaw, a person of an infamy equal to his new employment. They also had a solicitor of the same metal, John Cooke, a needy man, who, by various arts and many crimes, had sought for a necessary subsistence, yet still so poor, that he was forced to seek the shelter of obscure and sordid corners to avoid prison.

These were their chief agents; other inferior ministers they had equally qualified with these their prime instruments; as Dorislaus, a German bandito, who was to draw up the charge; Steele, another of their counsel, under pretence of sickness covered his fear of the event, though he did not abhor the wickedness of the enterprize, having before used his tongue in a cause very unjust, and relative to this, the murder of captain Burleigh. The serjeants, clerks, and crier, were so very obscure, that the world had never taken notice of them, but by their subserviency to this horrid impiety.

These were the public preparations. In private they continually met to contrive the form of their proceedings, and the matter of their accusation. Concerning the first, they were divided in opinions. Some would have the king first formally degraded and divested of all his royal habiliments and ensigns of majesty, and then, as a private person, exposed to justice. But this seemed to require a longer space of time than was consistent with their project, which, as all horrid acts, was to be done in a present fury, lest good counsels might gather strength by their delay. Others rejected this course as too evidently conforming with the popish procedure against sovereign princes,
and

and they feared to confirm that common suspicion, that they followed jesuitical counsels ; which sober protestants had reason enough to believe, because all, or most, of the arguments which were used by the assertors of this violence on his majesty, were but gleanings from popish writers.

These considerations cast the determination on their side who, designing a tyrannical Oligarchy, whereby they themselves might have a share in the government, would have the king proceeded against as king, that, by shedding his blood, they might extinguish majesty, and with him murder monarchy ; for several of them confessed, that indeed he was guilty of no crime more than that he was their king.

In their second debate about the matter of accusation, all willingly embraced the advice of Harrison to blacken him as much as they could ; yet found they not wherewith to pollute his name : for their old scandals, which they had amassed in their declaration for no more addressees to the king, had been so publicly refuted, that they could afford no colour for his murder. Therefore they formed their accusation from that war to which they had necessitated him : and their charge was, That he had levied war against the parliament ; that he had appeared in arms in several places, and did there proclaim war, and executed it by killing several of the good people ; for which they impeached him as a tyrant, traitor, murderer, and an implacable common enemy.

How little credit their accusation found, appeared by the endeavours of all parties to preserve the king's person from danger, and the nation from the guilt of his blood ; for while they were thus engaged to perpetrate their intended mischiefs, all parties declared against it. The presby-

withdrew themselves to their own homes; and many of those who formerly deluded by their pretensions to religion, justice and liberty, had hitherto been of the faction, yet now awakened by these enormous crimes, forsook their bloody confederacy.

Yet did not this contemptible number, of which in most votes there were twenty dissenters, blush to assume the authority of managing the weightiest affairs of the English empire, to alter and change the government, to expose his majesty to a violent murder, and to overthrow the ancient fundamental laws of the kingdom; for being wholly devoted to the service of the army, they communicated counsels with them; and whatsoever was resolved at the council of war, passed into a law by the votes of this remnant of the house of commons, who now served the soldiers in hopes of part of the spoil, and a precarious greatness, which being acquired by so much wickedness could not be lasting. In order, therefore, to the army's design, they revived those votes of No Addresses to the King. The votes of a treaty with the king, and of the satisfactoriness of his concessions, they razed with scorn out of the journal book: and then proceeded to vote,

“ 1, That the people, under God, are the original of all just power.

“ 2, That the commons of England, assembled in parliament, being chosen by, and representing the people, have the supreme authority of this nation.”

“ 3, That whatsoever is enacted and declared for law by the commons of England assembled in parliament,” by which they understood themselves, “ have the force of law.

“ 4. That

He being set, the charge against him was read, with all those reproachful terms of tyrant, traitor and murderer; after which he was impeached in the name of the people of England. This false slander of the people of England was heard with impatience and detestation of all, and stoutly attested against by the lady Fairfax, wife of the lord Fairfax; for, from an adjoining scaffold, where she stood, she cried out with a loud voice, that it was a lie, not the tenth part of the people were guilty of such a crime, but all was done by the machinations of that traitor Cromwell.

But the king, after the charge was read, with a countenance full of majesty and gravity, demanded by what authority they proceeded with him thus contrary to the public faith, and what law they had to try him that was an absolute sovereign. Bradshaw replying, "That of the parliament;" his majesty shewed the detestable falsehood in pretending to what they had not, and if they had it, yet it could not justify these practices. To which reply, when they could not answer, they forced him back to the place of his captivity.

The parricides endeavoured to break his spirit by making his appearances frequent before such contemptible judges, and often exposing him to the contempt of the armed rabble; therefore four days they tortured him with the impudence and reproaches of their infamous solicitor and president. But he still refused to own their authority, which they could not prove lawful, and so excellently demonstrated their abominable impiety, that he made colonel Downes, one of their court, boggle at and disturb their proceedings. They therefore at last proceeded to take away that life which was
not

daily sent agents the kindred, relations, and allies of Cromwell, Ireton, and the other conspirators, with full power to propose any conditions, make any promises, and use all threatnings to divert them, if it were possible, from their intended cruelty, or at least to gain some time before the execution. But all was in vain, for no conditions of peace could please them who were possessed with unlawful and immoderate desires; their ambition had swallowed the hopes of empire, therefore they would remove the king to seize the throne themselves.

Whatsoever it was that truly made them thus cruel, they publicly pretended no other motive than the calls of Providence, and the impulses of the Blessed Spirit.

The conspirators taking heat from their infamous preachers, whom they themselves had first kindled, and somewhat doubting that these several strong applications from all parties to save the king, and the universal discontents, might take some advantage from their delay, with more speed hastened the assassination. In order to which they sent a serjeant of arms with a guard of horse into Westminster-hall, and other places in London, to summon all that could lay any crime to the king's charge, to come, and give in their evidence against him.

Having thus proclaimed their wicked purposes, and dressed up a tribunal at the upper end of Westminster-hall, with all the appearances of terror, where the president, with his abject and bloody assistants were placed, thither afterwards they brought this most excellent monarch, whom having deprived of three great kingdoms, they now determined also to deprive of life.

In the evening the conspirators were acquainted by a member of the army, of the king's desire that, seeing his death was nigh, it might be permitted him to see his children, and to receive the Sacrament; and that Dr. Juxon, then lord bishop of London, since archbishop of Canterbury, might be admitted to pray with him in his private chamber.

The first they did not scruple at, the children in their power being but two, the lady Elizabeth and the duke of Gloucester, and they very young. The second they did not readily grant. Some would have had Peters to undertake that employment for which the bishop was sent for; but he declined it with some scoffs, as knowing that the king hated the offices of such an unhallowed buffoon: so that at last they permitted the bishop's access to the king, to whom his eminent integrity had made him dear.

The next day, being Sunday, the king was removed to St. James's, where the bishop of London read divine service, and preached in private on these words, "In the day when God shall judge
" the secrets of all men by Jesus Christ according
" to my gospel."

While the king and the bishop at this time, and also at other times, were performing the divine service, the rude soldiers often rushed in, and disturbed their offices with vulgar and base scoffs, vain and frivolous questions. The commanders likewise, and other impertinent anabaptists, interrupted his meditations: but he maintained his own cause with so irrefragable arguments, that he put some to silence, the petulency of others he neglected, and with a modest contempt dissembled their scoffs and reproaches.

In

In the narrow space of this one day, and under such continued affronts and disturbances, the king applied himself, as much as was possible, to the reading holy scriptures, to prayer, confession of sins, supplications for the forgiveness of his enemies, the receiving the eucharist, holy conferences, and all the offices of piety.

While the king thus spent this day, the ministers in the several churches in London, and in those parts of the kingdom where his danger was known, were very earnest in their prayers to God for his deliverance and spiritual assistance.

The next day, being the twenty-ninth of January, the king was permitted the sight of his children. His conference and words with them was taken in writing, and communicated to the world by the lady Elizabeth, his daughter; a lady of most eminent endowments, who, though born in the highest fortune, yet lived in continual tears in the Isle of Wight.

While these things were done in public, the conspirators met in private in a committee, to appoint every one his part in this tragedy, determine what gestures they were to affect, what words they were to use; as also for the manner, place and time of the murder. At last they resolved that he should lose his head by a stroke of an axe on a scaffold near Whitehall gates before the banquetting-house, that so from thence where he used to sit on his throne, and shew the splendor of majesty, he might pass to his grave.

In the midst of these preparations, they cause some soldiers to offer his majesty certain articles and conditions, to which if he would subscribe, they promised life, and the continuance of a precarious empire: but when one or two of them had been read to him, he refused to hear any more, saying,
 “ I

“ I will suffer a thousand deaths ere I will so prostitute my honour, or betray the liberties of my people.”

At last that fatal day, the thirtieth of January, approached; and that morning, a little before his death, the conspirators ordered some of their ministers, viz. Marshal, Nye Caryl, Salway, and Dell, to pray with him, as they said, in order to his passage out of this life; but when these sent, to let him know the end of their coming, he returned answer, That he was busy. They sent a second time, and he replied, That he was at his devotions. They importunately sent a third time, and my lord of London then desiring to know what answer he should give to satisfy them; his majesty then, as unconcerned in their ministry, said, “ My lord, you may give them what answer you please, but I am resolved, that they who have so often and so causelessly prayed against me, shall not in this my agony pray with me; they may pray for me if they please.”

Therefore the king, arming himself with his his own devotions in the offices of the church of England, in them found an unexpected comfort; for the gospel for that day being the history of the passion of our Saviour, did, by that example, strengthen the king to follow Jesus, and to take up his cross: and his majesty was thankful for that pattern.

Being thus confirmed by the blood, for he took the sacrament that morning, and sufferings of his Lord, whose viceregent he was, together with his own innocence, against the terrors of death, he was brought from St. James's through the Park to Whitehall, walking very fast, and with as chearful a countenance as if he was going to hunt, (a recreation he was much pleased with) often advising

ing his slow guards to move faster ; adding, “ I
 “ now go before you to strive for an heavenly
 “ crown, with less sollicitude than I formerly have
 “ led my soldiers for an earthly diadem.”

Being come to the end of the Park, he, with much alacrity, went up the stairs leading to the long gallery in Whitehall, and so into the cabinet-chamber, where he continued some time in devotion, while they were fitting the theatre of his murder.

While these things were acting, the lord Fairfax, who had always forborn any public appearance in the practices of this murder had taken up, as is credibly reported, some resolutions either in abhorrence of the crime, or by the solicitations of others, his own regiment, though none else should follow him, to hinder the execution, This being suspected, or known, Cromwell, Ireton, and Harrison coming to him, after their usual way of deceiving, endeavoured to persuade him, that the Lord had rejected the king ; and with such language as they knew had formerly prevailed upon him, concealing that they had, that very morning, signed the warrant for the assassination. They also desired him, with them, to seek the Lord by prayer, that they might know his mind in the thing. Which he assenting to, Harrison was appointed for the duty, and by compact to draw out his profane and blasphemous discourse to God in such a length as might give time for the execution, which they privately sent their instruments to hasten ; of which when they had notice that it was past, they rose up, and persuaded the general that this was a full return of prayer, and God having so manifested his pleasure, they were to acquiesce in it.

There was likewise another attempt made by colonel Downes, who had disturbed them in their court,

court, to obstruct them in their execution ; for it is said, that he endeavoured to make a mutiny in the army to hinder the wickedness, but the haste of the assassins prevented him.

While these men acted their wickedness by prayers, to the lasting reproach of Christianity, the king, after he had finished his supplications, was through the banquetting-house brought to the scaffold, which was dressed to terror, for it was all hung with black, where were attending two executioners in disguises, and the axe and the block prepared. But it prevailed not to affright him whose soul was already panting after another life : and therefore he entered this ignominious and ghastly theatre with the same mind as he used to carry to his throne, shewing no fear of death, but a solicitude for those that should live after him. Looking about, he saw divers companies of horse and foot so placed on each side the street and about the scaffold, that the people could not come near him, and those that saw could not be hearers ; therefore, omitting that speech which it was probable he would have spoken to the people, he spoke to the officers, and those that were then about him, that which is now printed among his works.

Having ended his speech, he declared his profession of religion ; and while he was preparing for the block, he expressed what were his hopes, for all the righteous have such, in death, saying, “ I
“ have a good cause and a gracious God on my
“ side ; I go from a corruptible to an incorrupti-
“ ble crown, where no disturbance can be, no di-
“ sturbance in the world.”

After this, composing himself to an address to God, having his eyes and hands lifted up to Heaven, and expressing some short and private ejaculations,

jaculations, he kneeled down before the block, as at a desk of prayer, and meekly submitted his crowned head to the pleasure of his God, to be profaned by the axe of the disguised executioner; which was suddenly severed from his body by one stroke.

Thus the king finished his martyrdom, but his enemies not their malice, who extended their cruelty beyond his life, and abused the headless trunk. Some washed their hands in the royal blood, others dipped their staves in it; and, that they might indulge their insatiate covetousness, as well as their boundless inhumanity, they sold the chips of the block, and the sands that were discoloured with his blood, and exposed his very hairs to sale.

Afterwards they delivered the body to be unbowelled to an infamous empiric of the faction, together with the rude chirurgions of the army, who were all most implacable enemies to his majesty, and commanded them to search whether they could not find in it symptoms of the French disease, or some evidences of frigidity, and natural impotency; that so they might have some colour to slander him who was eminent for chastity, or to make his seed infamous. But this wicked design was prevented by a physician of great integrity and skill; who intruding himself among them at the dissection, by his presence and authority kept the obsequious wretches from gratifying their opprobrious masters: and the same physician also published that nature had tempered the royal body to a longer life than is commonly granted to other men.

Not content with these injuries to his body and soul, they endeavoured likewise to murder his memory: for they pulled down his statue, which was placed at the west end of St. Paul's church, and that

that other in the Old Exchange, and leaving the arch void, they writ over, “Exit tyrannus regum
“ultimus.”

Besides this, they took care to suppress all those more lively figures of him and most lasting statues, his writings, and therefore forced from my lord of London, whom they kept prisoner, all those papers which his majesty had delivered to him, and made a most narrow search of his cloaths and cabinets, lest any of those monuments of piety and wisdom should escape to the benefit of mankind. Yet, by the gracious goodness of the almighty God, to their eternal infamy, and for a perpetual record of the king’s great virtues, they escaped their search, and was published to the world, The book of his meditations and soliloquies. In the composition of which a sober reader cannot tell which to admire most, his incredible prudence, his ardent piety, or his majestic and truly royal style.

While the parricides were seeking for fresh occasions to express their malice, the whole kingdom was composed to mourning and lamentation; even some of those who sat as judges could not forbear to mingle some tears with his blood when it was spilt. Many composed elegies and serious poems to preserve the memory of his virtues, to express their own grief, and to instruct the mournings of others; and their passions made them above their usual strain more elegant. Many who writ the acts of his time did vindicate his honour, and divulged the base arts of his enemies, even while their power was dreadful.

This monarch died in the forty-ninth year of his age, and twenty-second of his reign; and we may apply to him what was said of that excellent Roman who fought glory by virtue,

“Homo

“ Homo virtuti simillimus, et per omnia ingenio Diis quam hominibus proprior: qui nunquam rectè fecit, ut rectè facere videretur; sed quia aliter facere non poterat: cuique id solum visum est rationem habere quod habere iustitiam. Omnibus humanis vitiis immunis semper in probestate sua fortunam habuit.”

Vell. Paterc. lib. 2.

* * As the martyrdom of king Charles was followed by the execution of several of the nobility and gentry who suffered in his cause, we shall here subjoin an account of their behaviour at execution, omitting the other circumstances of their lives, as they contain nothing interesting;



T H E

The several Speeches and Behaviour of Duke Hamilton, the Earl of Holland, and the Lord Capell, immediately before their Execution upon the Scaffold in the Palace-yard, Westminster, on Friday, the ninth of March, 1649.

Duke Hamilton, Earl of Cambridge.

UPON Friday, the ninth of this instant, being the day appointed for the execution of the sentence of death upon duke Hamilton, the earl of Holland, and the lord Capell, about ten o'clock that morning, lieutenant-colonel Becher came with his order to the several prisoners at St. James's, requiring them to come away; according to which order they were carried in sedans, with a guard, to sir Thomas Cotton's house at Westminster, where they continued about the space of two hours, passing away most of that time in religious and seasonable conferences with the ministers, there present with them. After which, being called away to the scaffold, it was desired, that before they went they might have the opportunity of commending their souls to God by prayer, which being readily granted, and the room voided, Mr. Bolton was desired, by the lord of Holland, to take that pains with them, which was accordingly done with great appearance of solemn affections among them.

Prayer

Prayer being concluded, and hearty thanks returned by them all to the ministers who performed, as also to the rest who were their assistants in this sad time of trouble. The earl of Cambridge prepared first to go towards the place of execution; and, after mutual embraces, and some short ejaculatory expressions, to and for his fellow-sufferers, he took his leave of them all, and went along with the officer, attended by Dr. Sibbald, whom he had chosen for his comforter in this sad condition.

The scaffold being erected in the new palace yard at Westminster, over against the great hall gate, in the sight of the place where the high court of justice formerly sat, the hall doors being open, there was his excellency's regiment of horse commanded by captain Dishe, and several companies of colonel Hewson's and colonel Pride's regiments of foot drawn up in the place.

When the earl came from Westminster-hall near the scaffold, he was met by the under-sheriff of Middlesex and a guard of his men, who took the charge of him from lieutenant-colonel Beecher and the partizans that were his guard: the sheriff of London being also, according to command from the high court of justice, present to see the execution performed.

Duke Hamilton being come upon the scaffold, and two of his own servants waiting upon him, he first spake unto the doctor as followeth:

Duke. Whether shall I pray first?

Dr. Sibbald. As your lordship pleases.

Duke. My lord of Denbigh has sent to speak with me.

I know not the fashion, I may ask you sir; Do those gentlemen expect I should say any thing to them, or no? They cannot hear.

Dr. Sibbald. There will be a greater silence by and by. It will not be amiss, if your lordship defer your speaking till you hear from his lordship.

Duke. There is something in it. He was with the house.

Dr. Sibbald. I suppose he would give no interruption to your lordship, at this time, were there not something of concernment in it.

Duke. He is my brother, and has been a very faithful servant to the state, and he was in great esteem and reputation with them.

He is in the hall, and sent to speak with a servant of mine, to send something to me.

Sibbald. It will not lengthen the time much if you stay while we have a return from him.

My lord, you should do well to bestow your time now in meditating upon, and imploring of the free mercy in God of Christ for your eternal salvation; and look upon that ever-streaming fountain of his precious blood, that purgeth us from all our sins, even the sins of the deepest dye: the blood of Jesus Christ washes away all our sins, and that blood of Christ is poured away upon all such as by a lively faith lay hold upon him: God so loved the world that he gave his only begotten Son, to the end that whosoever believed in him should not perish, but have everlasting life. That is now, my lord, the rock upon which you must chiefly rest, and labour to fix yourself on the free mercy of God through Christ Jesus, whose mercies are from everlasting to everlasting, unto all such as with an eye of faith behold him; behold Jesus, the author and finisher of your salvation, who hath satisfied the justice of God by that all-sufficiency of his sacrifice, which once for all he offered upon the cross for the sins of the whole world; so that the
fting

sting of death is taken away from all believers, and he hath sanctified it as a passage to everlasting blessedness. It is true, the waters of Jordan run somewhat rough and surly between the Wilderness and our passage into Canaan; but let us rest upon the ark, my lord, the ark of Jesus, that will carry us through, and above all those waves to that rock of ages, which no flood or waves can reach unto; and to him who is yesterday, to day, and the same for ever; against whom the powers and principalities, the gates of hell, shall never be able to prevail. Lift up and fasten your eyes upon Christ crucified, and labour to behold Jesus stand at the right hand of his Father, as the protomartyr Stephen, ready to receive your soul, when it shall be separated from this from this frail and mortal body. Alas, no man would desire life, if he knew before hand what it was to live; it is nothing but sorrow, vexation and trouble, grief and discontent, that waits upon every condition, whether public or private; in every station and calling there are several miseries and troubles that are inseparable from them; therefore what a blessed thing is it to have a speedy and comfortable passage out of this raging sea into the port of everlasting happiness! We must pass through a sea, but it is the sea of Christ's blood, in which never soul suffered shipwreck; in which we must be blown with winds and tempests; but they are the gales of God's spirit upon us, which blow away all contrary winds of diffidence in his mercy.

Here one acquainting the earl his servant was coming, he answered, "So sir;" and turning to the under-sheriff's son said,

Sir, you have your warrant here.

Sheriff. Yes, my lord, we have a command.

Duke. A command.

I take this time, sir, of staying, in regard of the earl of Denbigh's tending to speak with me. I know not for what it is he desires me to stay.

Dr. Sibbald. I presume Mr. Sheriff will not grudge your lordship a few minutes time, when to gear a work as this is in hand.

His lordship's servant being returned, and having delivered his message to the earl of Cambridge privately, he said, "So, it is done now:" and then turning to the front of the scaffold, before which, as in all other front of the palaces, there was a great concourse of people, he said,

I think it is truly not very necessary for me to speak much: there are many gentlemen and soldiers there that love me, but my voice truly is so weak, to know that they will not hear me; neither truly was I ever at any time so much in love with speaking, or with anything I had to express, that I could wish to do so; yet this being the last time that I am to do so, by a divine providence of almighty God, who hath brought me to this end of my journey. I shall to you, Mr. Sheriff, declare thus much, as to the matter that I am now to suffer for, who was as long a traitor to the kingdom of Great Britain, as it was a country that I was born in with my own; I made no difference between them, I entered the generality of its people, or any particular man in it: what I did, was by the command of the parliament of the country, as I was told, whose commands I obeyed, and so, with the stamp into the same parliament, which I am now in: the reason of this is, that I was persuaded, that they were just, and so I thought not need to specify

I am, sir, with as much in your

Duke.

Duke. No sir, it will not burn it. I hope I shall see a brighter sun than this, sir, very speedily.

Dr. Sibbald, the sun of righteousness, my lord.

Duke. But to that I was saying, sir. It pleased God so to dispose that army under my command, as it was ruined; and I, as their general, cloathed with a commission, stand here now ready to die. I shall not trouble you with repeating of my plea, what I said in my own defence at the court of justice, myself being satisfied with the commands that are laid upon me, and they satisfied with the justness of their procedure; according to the laws of this land. God is just, and, howsoever I shall not say any thing as to the matter of the sentence, but that I do willingly submit to his divine providence, and I acknowledge that very many ways I deserve even a worldly punishment, as well as hereafter; for we are all sinful sir, and I a great one; yet, for my comfort, I know there is a God in heaven that is exceeding merciful; I know my Redeemer sits at his right hand, and am confident---clapping his hand to his breast---is meditating for me at this instant; I am hopeful, through his free grace, and all-sufficient merits, to be pardoned of my sins, and to be received into his mercy; upon that I rely, trusting to nothing but the free grace of God through Jesus Christ. I have not been tainted with my religion, I thank God for it, since my infancy it hath been such as hath been professed in the land, and established; and now 'tis not this religion, or that religion, or this or that fancy of men, that is to be built upon; 'tis but one that's right, one that's sure, and that comes from God, sir, and in the free grace of our Saviour. Sir, there is truly something that, had I thought my speech would have been thus taken, I would have digested it into some better method than now I can,

and shall desire those gentlemen that do write it, that they will not wrong me in it, and that it may not in this manner be published to my disadvantage, for truly I did not intend to have spoken thus when I came here.

There are, sirs, terrible aspersions have been laid upon myself, truly such as, I thank God, I am very free from; as if my actions and intentions had not been such as they were pretended for; but that, notwithstanding what I pretended it was for the king, there was nothing less intended than to serve him in it. I was bred with him for many years, I was his domestic servant, and there was nothing declared by the parliament, that was not really intended by me; and truly in it I ventured my life one way, and now I lose it another way; and that was one of the ends; as to the king, I speak only of that, because the rest has many particulars and to clear myself from so horrid an aspersion as is laid upon me; neither was there any other design known to me by the incoming of the army, than what is really in the declaration published. His person I do profess I loved as he was my king, and as he had been my master, it has pleased God now to dispose of him, so as it cannot be thought flattery to have said this, or any end in me for the saying it, but to free myself from that calumny which lay upon me. I cannot gain by it; yet truth is what we shall gain by for ever.

There hath been much spoken, sir, of an invitation into this kingdom: it is mentioned in that declaration; and truly to that I did and do remit myself: and I have been very much laboured for discoveries of these inviters; 'tis no time to dissimble. How willing I was to have served this nation in any thing that was in my power, is known to very many honest, pious and religious men;

men; and how ready I; would have been to have done what I could to have served them, if it had pleased God to have preserved my life, in whose hands there was a power: they have not thought it fit, and so I am become unuseful in that which willingly I would have done. As I said at first, sir, so I say now concerning that point; I wish the kingdom happiness, I wish it peace; and truly, sir, I wish that this blood of mine may be the last that is drawn; and howsoever I may perhaps have some reluctancy with myself, as to the matter of my fact, for my suffering for my fact, yet I freely forgive all; sir, I carry no rancour with me to my grave; His will be done that has created both heaven and earth, and me, a poor sinful creature now speaking before him.

For me to speak, sir, to you of state-business, and the government of the kingdom, or my opinion in that, or for any thing in that nature, truly it is to no end; it contributes nothing: my own inclination hath been to peace from the beginning, and it is known to many, that I never was an ill instrument betwixt the king and his people: I never acted to the prejudice of the parliament; I bore no arms, I meddled not with it; I was not wanting by my prayers to God almighty for the happiness of the king; and truly I shall pray still that God may so direct him, as that shall be done which shall tend to his glory and the peace and happiness of the kingdom.

I have not much more to say that I remember of; I think I have spoken of my religion.

Dr. Sibbald. Your lordship has not so fully said it.

Duke. Truly I do believe I did say something.

Dr. Sibbald. I know you did, 'tis pleasing to hear it from your lordship again.

Duke. Truly, sir, for the profession of my religion, that which I said was the established religion, and that which I practised in my own kingdom, where I was born and bred : my tenets, they need not be expressed, they are known to all, and I am not of a rigid opinion ; many godly men there are that may have scruples, which do not concern me at all at no time ; they may differ in opinion, and now more than at any time ; differing in opinion does not move me, nor any man's ; my own is clear. Sir, the Lord forgive me my sins ; and I forgive freely all those that even I might, as a worldly man, have the greatest animosity against ; we are bidden to forgive : sir, 'tis a command laid upon us, and there mentioned, " Forgive us
" our trespasses, as we forgive them that trespass
" against us."

Dr. Sibbald. 'Tis our Saviour's rule, " Love
" your enemies ; bless them that persecute you ;
" do good to them that despightfully use you."

Duke. Sir, it is high time for me to make an end of this ; and truly I remember no more that I have to say, but to pray to God almighty a few words, and then I have done.

Then kneeling down with Dr. Sibbald, he prayed thus :

MOST blessed Lord, I thy poor and most unworthy servant come unto thee, presuming in thy infinite mercy, and the merits of Jesus Christ, who sits upon the throne : I come flying from that of justice to that of mercy and tenderness, for his sake which shed his blood for sinners, that he would take compassion upon me, that he would look upon me as one that graciously hears me, that he will look upon me as one that hath redeemed me, that he would look upon me as one that hath shed his
blood

blood for me; that he would look upon me as one who now calls and hopes to be saved by his all-sufficient merits. For his sake, glorious God, have compassion upon me in the freeness of thy infinite mercy, that when this sinful soul of mine shall depart out of this frail carcass of clay, I may be carried into thy everlasting glory: O Lord, by thy free grace, and out of thy infinite mercy, hear me, and look down, and have compassion upon me; and thou, Lord Jesus, thou, my Lord, and thou, my God, and thou, my redeemer, hear me; take pity upon me, take pity upon me, gracious God; and so deal with my soul that, by thy precious merits, I may attain to thy joy and bliss: O Lord, remember me, so miserable and sinful a creature: now thou, O Lord, thou, O Lord, that dyedst for me, receive me, and receive me into thine own bound of mercy: O Lord, I trust in thee, suffer me not now to be confounded; Satan has had too long possession of this soul; O let him not prevail against it, but let me, O Lord, from henceforth, dwell with thee for evermore.

Now, Lord, it is thy time to hear me; hear me, gracious Jesus, even for thy own goodness, mercy and truth; O glorious God, O blessed Father, O holy Redeemer, O gracious Comforter, O holy and blessed Trinity, I do render up my soul into thy hands, and commit it with the mediation of my Redeemer, praising thee for all thy dispensations that it has pleased thee to confer upon me; and even for this, praise, and honour, and thanks, from this time forth for ever more.

Dr. Sibbald. I trust you now behold, with the eye of faith, the sun of righteousness shining upon your soul; and will cheerfully submit unto him
who

who hath redeemed us through his blood, even the blood of Jesus Christ, ; that you may appear at the tribunal of God, cloathed with the white robe of his unspotted righteousness: the Lord grant that with the eye of faith you may see the heavens opened, and Jesus Christ standing at the right hand of God, ready to receive you into his arms of mercy.

Then the duke turning to the executioner, said, " Shall I put on another cap? Must this hair be turned up from my neck? There are three of my servants to give satisfaction."

Dr. Sibbald. My lord, I hope you are able to give all that are about you satisfaction; you are assured that God is reconciled unto you through the blood of Christ Jesus: and the spirit of God witnesseth to you, that Christ is become now a Jesus unto you. My lord, fasten your eyes upon Jesus the author and finisher of your salvation, who himself was brought to a violent death for the redemption of mankind; he cheerfully submitted to his Father's good pleasure in it, and for us: Blessed and holy is he that hath part, my lord, in the first resurrection; that is, in the first riser, Jesus Christ, who is both the resurrection and the life; over him the second death shall have no power. It is the unspeakable joy of a believer, that, at the hour of death, his soul hath an immediate passage from this earthly tabernacle to that region of endless glory; yea, to the presence of God himself; in whose presence is fulness of joy, and at whose right hand are pleasures forever more.

Then the duke turning to the executioner, said, " Which way is that you would have me lie, "
" fr?"

The

The executioner pointing to the front of the scaffold, the earl replied, "What, my head this way?"

Then the under-sheriff's son said, "My lord, the order is, that you should lay your head towards the high court of justice."

The duke, after a little discourse in private with some of his servants, kneeled down on the side of the scaffold, and prayed a while to himself.

When he had finished his prayer, Dr. Sibbald spake to him thus:

My lord, I humbly beseech God that you may with an holy and Christian courage give up your soul to the hand of your faithful Creator and gracious Redeemer; and not be dismayed with any sad apprehensions of the terrors of his death; and what a blessed and glorious exchange you shall make within a very few minutes?

Then, with a chearful and smiling countenance, the earl embracing the doctor in his arms, said,

Duke. Truly, sir, I do take you in mine arms, and truly, I bless God for it, I do not fear; I have an assurance that is grounded here----laying his hand upon his heart----now that gives me more true joy than ever I had; I pass out of a miserable world to go into an eternal and glorious kingdom; and, sir, though I have been a most sinful creature, yet God's mercy, I know, is infinite; and, I bless God for it, I go with so clear a conscience, that I know not the man that I have personally injured.

Dr. Sibbald. My lord, it is a marvellous great satisfaction that, at this last hour, you can say so: I beseech the Lord, for his eternal mercy, strengthen your faith, that, in the very moment of your dissolution, you may see the arms of the Lord Jesus stretched out to receive your soul.

Then

Then the earl of Cambridge embracing those his servants which where there present, said to each of them, "You have been very faithful to me, and the Lord blefs you."

Then turning to the executioner, said, "I shall say a very short prayer to my God, while I lay down there; and when I stretch out my hand, my right hand, then, fir, do your duty; and I do freely forgive you, and so I do all the world,"

Dr. Sibbald. The Lord in great mercy go along with you, and bring you to the possession of everlasting life, strengthning your faith in Jesus Christ. This is a passage, my lord, a short passage, unto eternal glory. I hope, through the free grace of your gracious God, you are now able to say, "O death, where is thy sting? O Grave, where is thy victory?" and, to make this comfortable answer, "Blessed be God, blessed be God who hath given me an assurance of victory through Christ Jesus."

Then the earl of Cambridge said to the executioner, "Must I lie along?"

Execut. Yes, and't please your lordship.

Duke. When I stretch out my hands-----But I will fit my head first; tell me if I be right, and how you would have me lie.

Execut. Your shirt must be pinn'd back, for it lies too high upon your shoulders.-----Which was done accordingly.

Dr. Sibbald. My lord, now lift up your eyes unto Jesus Christ, and cast yourself now into the everlasting arms of your gracious Redeemer.

Then the earl having laid his head over the block said, "Is this right?"

Dr. Sibbald.

Dr. Sibbald. Jesus, the son of David, have mercy upon you.

Execut. Lie a little lower, sir.

Duke. Well, stay then till I give you the sign.

And so having lain a short space, devoutly praying to himself, he stretched out his right hand, whereupon the executioner, at one blow, severed his head from his body, which was received by two of his servants then kneeling by him, into a crimson taffaty scarf, and that with the body immediately put into a coffin brought upon the scaffold for that purpose, and from thence conveyed to the house that was sir John Hamilton's at the Mews.

This execution being done, the sheriff's guard went immediately to meet the earl of Holland, which they did in the mid-way between the scaffold and Westminster-hall; and the under-sheriff's son having received him into his charge, conducted him to the scaffold, he taking Mr. Bolton all the way in his hand, passed all along to the scaffold discoursing together; upon which being come, observing his voice would not reach to the people, in regard the guard compassed the scaffold, he said, as follows :

L O R D

Henry Lord Rich, Earl of Holland.

IT is to no purpose, I think, to speak any thing here. Which way must I speak? Then being directed to the front of the scaffold, he, leaning over the rails, said, I think it is fit to say something, since God hath called me to this place. The first thing which I must profess, is, what concerns my religion and my breeding; which hath been in a good family, that hath ever been faithful to the true protestant religion, in the which I have been bred, in the which I have lived, and in the which, by God's grace and mercy, I shall die. I have not lived according to that education I had in that family where I was born and bred. I hope God will forgive me my sins, since I conceive it is very much his pleasure to bring me to this place for the sins I have committed.

The cause that hath brought me hither, I believe by many hath been much mistaken. They have conceived that I have had ill designs to the state, and to the kingdom; truly I look upon it as a judgment, and a just judgment of God: not but I have offended so much the state, and the kingdom, and the parliament, as that I have no extreme vanity in serving them very extraordinarily: for those actions that I have done, I think it is known they have been ever very faithful to the public, and very particularly to parliaments. My affections have been ever expressed truly and clearly to them.

The disposition of affairs now have put things in another posture than they were when I was engaged with the parliament. I have never gone off from
those

those principles that ever I have professed; I have lived in them, and, by God's grace, will die in them. There may be alterations and changes that may cerry them further than I thought reasonable, and truly there I left them; but there hath been nothing that I have said, or done, or professed, either by covenant or declaration, which hath not been very constant, and very clear, upon the principles that I have ever gone upon; which was to serve the king, the parliament, religion, (I should have said in the first place) the commonwealth, and to seek the peace of the kingdom. That made me think it no improper time, being pressed out by accidents and circumstances, to seek the peace of the kingdom, which I thought was proper, since there was something then in agitation, but nothing agreed on, for sending propositions to the king; that was the furthest aim that I had; and truly beyond that I had no intention, none at all: and, God be praised, although my blood comes to be shed here, there was, I think, scarce a drop of blood shed in that action that I was engaged in.

For the present affairs, as they are, I cannot tell how to judge of them; and truly they are in such a condition, as, I conceive nobody can make a judgment of them; and therefore I must make use of prayers rather than of my opinion; which are, That God would bless this kingdom, this nation, this state; that he would settle it in a way agreeable to what this kingdom hath been happily governed under, by a king, by the lords, by the commons; a government that I conceive it hath flourished much under; and I pray God the change of it bring not rather a prejudice, a disorder, and a confusion, than the contrary.

I look upon the posterity of the king, and truly my conscience directs me to it, to desire that, if
God

God be pleased, these people may look upon them with that affection that they owe; that they may be called again, and they may be, not through blood nor through disorder, admitted again into that power, and to that glory, that God in their birth intended to them.

I shall pray with all my soul for the happiness of this state, of this nation, that the blood which is here spilt may even be the last that may fall among us; and truly I should lay down my life with as much cheerfulness as ever person did, if I conceived that there would be no more blood follow us; for a state or affairs that are built upon blood, is a foundation, for the most part, that doth not prosper.

After the blessing that I give to the nation, to the kingdom, and truly to the parliament, I do wish, with all my heart, happiness and a blessing to all those that have been authors in this business; and truly, that have been authors in this very work that brings us hither. I do not only forgive them, but I pray heartily and really for them, as God will forgive my sins; so I desire God may forgive them.

I have a particular relation, as I am chancellor of Cambridge; and truly I must here, since it is the last of my prayers, pray to God that that university may go on in that happy way which it is in, that God may make it a nursery to plant those persons that may be distributed to the kingdom, that the souls of the people may receive a great benefit, and a great advantage by them; and, I hope, God will reward them for their kindness, and their affections, that I have found from them. -

I have said what religion I have been bred in, what religion I have been born in, what religion I have practised; I began with it, and I must end with it.

it. I told you that my actions and my life have not been agreeable to my breeding. I have told you that the family where I was bred hath been an exemplary family I may say so, I hope, without vanity, of much affection to religion, and of much faithfulness to this kingdom and to this state. I have endeavoured to do those actions that became an honest man and a good Englishman, and which became a good Christian. I have been willing to oblige those that have been in trouble, those that have been in persecution; and truly I find a great reward of it; for I have found their prayers and their kindness now in this distress, and in this condition; and I think it a great reward; I pray God reward them for it.

I am a great sinner, and I hope God will be pleased to hear my prayers, to give me faith to trust in him, that, as he hath called me to death at this place, he will make it but a passage to an eternal life through Jesus Christ, which I trust to, which I rely upon, and which I expect by the mercy of God; and so I pray God bless you all, and send that you may see this to be the last execution, and the last blood that is likely to be spilt among you.

Then turning to the side rail, he prayed for a good space of time; after which Mr. Bolton said:

My lord, now look upon him whom you have trusted. My lord, I hope that here is your last prayer: there will no more prayers remain, but praises; and I hope that, after this day is over, there will a day begin which shall never have end; and I look upon this, my lord, the morning of it, the morning of that day.

My lord, you know where your fulness lies; where your riches lye; where is your only rock to anchor on: you know there is fulness in Christ. If the Lord come not in with fulness of comfort to

you, yet resolve to wait upon him while you live, and to trust in him when you die ; and then say, “ I will die here, I will perish at thy feet, I will be found dead at the feet of Jesus Christ.” Certainly, he that came to seek and save lost sinners, will not reject lost sinners when they come to seek him ; he that entreateth us to come, will not slight us when we come to seek him.

My lord, there is enough there, and fix your heart there, and fix your eyes there, that eye of faith, and that eye of hope ; exercise these graces now ; there will be no exercise hereafter. As your lordship said, here take an end of faith, and take an end of hope, and take a farewell of repentance, and all these ; and welcome God, and welcome Christ, and welcome glory, and welcome happiness, to all eternity ; and so it will be an happy passage then, if it be a passage here from misery to happiness : and, though it be but a sad way, yet, if it will bring you into the presence of joy, altho’ it be a valley of tears, although it be a shadow of death, yet, if God will please to bring you, and make it a passage to that happiness, welcome Lord : and I doubt not but God will give you an heart to taste some sweetness and love in this bitter potion, and to see something of mercy and goodness to you, and shew you some sign and token of good, so that your soul may see which we have had already experience of, blessed be God for it, many experiences, many expressions, not only in words nor tears ; God hath not left us without much comfort and evidence, and I hope, my lord, you that have given so many evidences to us, I hope you want none yourself ; but that the Lord will be pleased to support you, and bear up your spirit : and, if there want evidence, there is reliance ; my security lies not in knowing that I shall come to heaven,
and

and come to glory, but in my resting and relying upon him. When the anchor of faith is thrown out, there may be shakings and tossings, but there is safety; nothing shall interrupt safety, although something may interrupt security: my safety is sure, although I apprehend it not: and what if I go to God in the dark? What if I come to him, as Nicodemus did, staggering in the night? It is a night of trouble, a night of darkness, though I come trembling and staggering in this night, yet I shall be sure to find comfort and fixedness in him: and the Lord of heaven be the strength, stay, and support of your soul, and the Lord furnish you with all those graces which may carry you into the bosom of the Lord Jesus; that when you expire this life, you may be able to inspire it into him, in whom you may begin to live to all eternity; and that is my humble prayer.

Holland. Mr. Bolton, God hath given me long time in this world: he hath carried me through many great accidents of fortune, he hath at last brought me down into a condition, where I find myself brought to an end, for a disaffection to this state, to this parliament, that, as I said before, I did believe no body in the world more unlikely to have expected to suffer for that cause; I look upon it as a great judgment from God for my sins: and truly, sir, since that the death is violent, I am the less troubled with it, because of those violent deaths that I have seen before; principally my Saviour, that hath shewed us the way, how and in what manner he hath done it, and for what cause, I am the more comforted, I am the more rejoiced. It is not long since the king my master passed in the same manner; and truly I hope that his purposes and intentions were such a man may not be ashamed not only to follow in the way that was taken with
K k 2 him

him, but likewise not ashamed of his purposes, if God had given him life. I have often disputed with him concerning many things of this kind, and I conceive his sufferings, and his better knowledge, and better understanding, if God had spared him life, might have made him a prince very happy towards this kingdom.

I have seen and known that those blessed souls in heaven have passed thither by the gate of sorrow, and many by the gate of violence; and since it is God's pleasure to dispose me this way, I submit my soul to him, with all comfort, and with all hope, that he hath made this my end, and this my conclusion, that though I be low in death, yet nevertheless this lowness shall raise me to the highest glory for ever.

Truly I have not said much in public to the people, concerning the particular actions that I conceive I have done by my counsels in this kingdom. I conceive they are well known; it were something of vanity, methinks, to take notice of them here: I'll rather die with them, with the comfort of them in my own bosom; and that I never intended in this action, or any action that I ever I did in my life, either malice or blood-shed, or prejudice to any creature that lives.

For that which concerns my religion, I made my profession before of it, how I was bred, and in what manner I was bred, in a family that was looked upon as not little notorious in opposition to some liberties they had conceived then to be taken; and truly there was some mark upon me, as if I had some taint of it, even throughout my whole ways that I had taken: every body knows what my affections have been to many that have suffered, to many that have been in troubles in this kingdom, I endeavoured to relieve them, I endeavoured

d to oblige them ; I thought I was tied so by
conscience ; I thought it by my charity, and
very much by my breeding.

d hath now brought me to the last instant of
me ; all that I can say, and all that I can ad-
vocate, is, (That as I am a great sinner, so I
am a great Saviour ;) that as he hath given me
a fortune to come publicly in a shew of shame
in the way of this suffering, truly I understand it
to be so, I understand it to be a glory ; a glory ;

I consider I had no end in it, but what I con-
sider to be the service of God, the king and the
commonwealth, and therefore my heart is not charged
with any thing in that particular, since I con-

God will accept of the intention, whatsoever
action seems to be. I am going to die, and
God will receive my soul ; I have no reliance but

Christ : for myself, I do acknowledge that I
am the unworthiest of sinners ; my life hath been
a sin, and a continued sin, and God may justly
bring me to this end, for the sins I have committed
against him, and were there nothing else but the
iniquities that I have committed in the way of my
life I look upon this as a great justice of God, to
bring me to this suffering, and to bring me to this
shame : and those hands that have been most
active in it, if any such there have been ; I pray
God forgive them ; I pray God that there may not
be any such trophies of their victories ; but that
may be, as I said before, the last shew that
people shall see of the blood of persons of con-
science, of persons of honour.

I might say something of the way of our trial,
which certainly hath been as extraordinary, as any
that I think hath ever been seen in this kingdom ;
because I would not seem as if I made some
complaint, I will not so much as mention it, be-

cause nobody shall believe I repine at their actions, that I repine at my fortune ; it is the will of God, it is the hand of God under whom I fall ; I take it entirely from him, I submit myself to him, I shall desire to roll myself into the arms of my blessed Saviour ; and when I come to this place-----pointing to the block-----when I bow down myself there, I hope God will raise me up ; and when I bid farewell, as I must now, to hope and to faith, that love will abide. I know nothing to accompany the soul out of this world, but love ; and I hope that love will bring me to the fountain of glory in heaven, through the arms, mediation, and the mercy of my Saviour Jesus Christ ; in whom I believe ; O Lord help my unbelief.

Hodges. The Lord make over unto you the righteousness of his own Son ; it is that treasury that he hath bestowed upon you ; and the Lord shew you the light of his countenance, and fill you full with his joy and kindness. O my dear lord, the Lord of heaven and earth be with you, and the Lord of heaven and earth bring you to that safety.

Holland. I shall make as much haste as I can to come to that glory, and the Lord of heaven and earth take my soul ; I look upon myself entirely in him, and hope to find mercy through him ; I expect it ; and through that fountain that is opened for sin and for uncleanness, my soul must receive it ; for did I rest in any thing else, I have nothing but sin and corruption in me ; I have nothing but that, which, instead of being carried up into the arms of God, and of glory, I have nothing but may sink me down into hell.

Bolton. But, my lord, when you are clothed with the righteousness of another, you will appear glorious, though now sinful in yourself. The apostle saith, “ I desire not to be found in my own
“ righteous-

“righteousness;” and when you are cloathed with another, the Lord will own you; and I shall say but thus much: doubt not that he ever will deny salvation to sinners that come to him, when the end of all his death and sufferings was the salvation of sinners; when, as I say, the whole end, and the whole design, and the great work that God had to do in the world, by the world, by the death of Christ, wherein he laid out all his counsels, and infinite wisdom, and mercy, and goodness, beyond which there was a non ultra in God’s thoughts; when this was the great design, and great end, the salvation of poor sinners, that poor souls should come over to him and live; certainly when sinners come he will not reject, he will not refuse: and, my lord, do but think of this, the greatest work that ever was done in the world, was the blood of Christ that was shed, never any thing like it; and this blood of Christ that was shed, was shed for them that come; if not for them, for none; it was in vain else. You see the devils, they are out of the capacity of it; the angels, they have no need of it; wicked men will not come, and there are but a few that come over; and should he deny them, there were no end, nor fruit of the blood and sufferings of the Lord Jesus: and had your lordship been with Christ in that bloody agony, when he was in that bloody sweat, sweating drops of blood, if you had asked him, Lord, what art thou a-doing? art thou not now reconciling an angry God and me together? art thou not pacifying the wrath of God? art thou not interposing thyself between the justice of God and my soul? Would he not have said Yea? Surely then he will not deny it now. My lord, his passions are over, his compassions still re-
K k 4 main,

main, and the larger and greater because he is gone up into an higher place, that he may throw down more abundance of his mercy and grace upon you; and, my lord, think of that infinite love, that abundance of riches in Christ. I am lost, I am empty, I have nothing, I am poor, I am sinful; be it so, as bad as God will make me, and as vile as I possibly can conceive myself, I am willing to be: but when I have said all, the more I advance that riches, and honour that grace of God. And why should I doubt when by this he puts me into a capacity, into a disposition for him to shew me mercy, that by this I may the better advance the riches of his grace, and say Grace, grace to the Lord to all eternity; that God should own such a creature that deserves nothing; and the less I deserve, the more conspicuous is his grace: and this is certain, the riches of his grace he throweth amongst men, that the glory of his grace might be given to himself; if we can give him but the glory of his grace, we shall never doubt to partake of the riches of it; and that fulness, my lord, that fulness be your comfort; that fulness of mercy, that fulness of love; that fulness of righteousness and power, be now your riches and your only stay; and the Lord interpose himself between God and you, as your faith hath endeavoured to interpose him between God and your soul; so I doubt not there he stands, my lord, to plead for you; and when you are not able to do any thing yourself, yet lie down at the feet of him that is a merciful Saviour, and knows what you would desire, and wait upon him while you live, and trust in him when you die; there is riches enough, and mercy enough; if he open not, yet die at his door; say There I'll die, there is mercy enough.

Holland.

Holland. And here is the place where I lie down before him, from whence I hope he will raise me to an eternal glory through my Saviour, upon whom I rely, from whom only I can expect mercy. Into his arms I commend my spirit; into his bleeding arms; that when I leave this bleeding body, that must lie upon this place, he will receive that soul that ariseth out of it, and receive it into his eternal mercy, through the merits, through the worthiness, through the mediation of Christ, that hath purchased it with his own most precious blood.

Bolton. My lord, though you conclude here, I hope you begin above; and though you put an end here, I hope there will never be an end of the mercy and goodness of God: and if this be the morning of eternity, if this be the rise of glory, if God pleaseth to throw you down here, to raise you up for ever, say, Welcome Lord, welcome that death that shall make way for life; and welcome any condition that shall throw me down here to bring me into the possession of Jesus Christ.

Hodges. My lord, if you have made a deed of gift of yourself to Jesus Christ, to be found only in him; I am confident that you shall stand at the day of Christ; my dear lord, we shall meet in happiness.

Holland. Christ Jesus receive my soul; my soul hungers and thirsts after him; clouds are gathering, and I trust in God through all my heaviness, and I hope through all impediments, he will settle my interest in him, and throw off all the claim that Satan can make to it; and that he will carry my soul, in despite of all the calumnies, and all that the devil, and Satan can invent, will carry it into eternal mercy, there to receive the blessedness of his presence to all eternity.

Hodges

Hodges. My lord, it was his own by the creation, it is his own now by the redemption and purchase; and it is likewise his own by resignation. Oh, my lord, look therefore up to the Lamb of God, that sits at the right hand of God, to take away the sins of the world: Oh that Lamb of God!

Holland. That Lamb of God, into his hands I commit my soul; and that Lamb of God that sits upon the throne to judge those twenty-four that fall down before him, I hope he will be pleased to look downward, and judge me with mercy that fall down before him, and that adore him, that only trusts upon his mercy, for his compassion; and that, as he hath purchased me, he would lay his claim unto me now, and receive me.

Bolton. My lord, think of this, there is no condemnation to them who are in Christ; who is it that can condemn? it is Christ that justifies; and therefore look now upon this, my lord, upon this Christ, upon this Christ that justifies: hell, death, sin, Satan; nothing shall be able to condemn, it is Christ that justifies you.

Holland. Indeed, if Christ justify, nobody can condemn; and I trust in God, in his justification; though there is a confusion here without us, and though there are wonders and staring that now disquiet; yet I trust that I shall be carried into that mercy, that God will receive my soul.

Bolton. I doubt not, my lord, but as you are a spectacle of pity here, so you are an object of God's mercy above.

Then the earl of Holland, looking over among the people, pointing to a soldier, said, This honest man took me a prisoner: you little thought I should have been brought to this, when I deliver'd myself to you upon conditions. Espying captain
Watson

Watson on horseback, putting off his hat, said to him, God be with you, sir; God reward you sir.

Bolton. My lord, throw yourself into the arms of mercy, and say, There will I anchor, and there I will die; he is a saviour for us, in all conditions, whither should we go? He hath the works of eternal life; and upon him do you rest; wait while you live, and even trust in death.

Holland. Here must now be my anchor; a great storm makes me now find my anchor; and but in storms no body trusts to his anchor; and therefore I must trust upon my anchor, (upon that God, said Mr. Bolton, upon whom your anchor trusts) yea, God, I hope, will anchor my soul fast upon Christ Jesus; and if I die not with that clearness, and that heartiness, that you speak of, truly I will trust in God; though he kill me, I will rely upon him, and in the mercy of my Saviour.

Bolton. There is mercy enough, my lord, and to spare, you shall not need to doubt; they shall never go begging to another door, my lord, than come to him.

Then the earl of Holland, speaking to Mr. Hodges, said, "I pray God reward you for all your kindness; and pray, as you have done, instruct my family that they may serve God with faithfulness and holiness, with more diligence than truly I have been careful to press them unto: you have the charge of the same place; you may do much for them, and I recommend them to your kindness and the goodness of your conscience."

Dr. Sibbald, standing upon the scaffold, in his passage to colonel Beecher, expressed himself thus to his lordship:

The lord lift up the light of his countenance upon you, and you shall be safe.

Then

Then the earl of Holland embraced the lieutenant-colonel Beecher, and took his leave of him : after which he came to Mr. Bolton, and having embraced him, returned him many thanks for his great pains and affections to his soul ; desiring God to reward him, and return his love into his bosom.

Mr. Bolton said to him, The Lord God support you, and be seen in this great extremity ; the Lord reveal and discover himself to you, and make your death the passage unto eternal life.

Then the earl of Holland turning to the executioner, said, Here, my friend, let my cloaths and my body alone ; there is ten pounds for thee, that is better than my cloaths, I am sure of it.

Executioner. Will your lordship please to give me a sign when I shall strike ?

Holland. You have room enough here, have you not ?

Executioner. Yes.

Bolton. The Lord be your strength, there is riches in him : the Lord of heaven impart himself to you, he is able to save to the uttermost : we cannot fall so low as to fall below the everlasting arms of God ; and therefore the Lord be a support and stay to you in your low condition, that he will be pleased to make this an advantage to that life and glory that will make amends for all.

Then the earl then turning to the executioner, said, “ Friend, do you hear me ? If you take up “ my head, do not take off my cap.” Then turning to his servants, he said to one, “ Fare you “ well, thou art an honest fellow.” To another, “ God be with thee, thou art an honest man.” He then said, “ Stay ; I will kneel down, and ask “ God forgiveness ;” and then prayed for a pretty space with seeming earnestness.

Bolton. The Lord grant you may find life in death.
Holland.

Holland. Which is the way of lying? It was shewn him. Then going to the front of the scaffold, he said to the people, “ God bless you all, “ and God deliver you from any such accidents as “ may bring you to any such death as is violent, “ either by war, or by these accidents; but that “ there may be peace among you, and you may “ find that these accidents that have happened to “ us, may be the last that may happen in this king- “ dom. I pray God give all happiness to this “ kingdom, to this people, and to this nation.” Then turning to the executioner, said, “How must “ I lie? I know not.”

Executioner. Lie down flat upon your belly.

Then having laid himself down, he said, “ Must “ I lie closer?”

Executioner. Yes, and backwarder.

Holland. I will tell you when you shall strike; and then as he lay seemed to pray affectionately for a short space, and then lifting up his head, said, Where is the man? and seeing the executioner by him, he said, Stay while I give the sign; and presently after stretching out his hand, and the executioner being not fully ready, he said, Now, Now; and just as the words were coming out of his mouth, the executioner, at one blow, severed his head from his body.

A R T H U R,

Arthur, Lord Capel.

THE execution of the lord Rich being performed as before recited, the lord Capel was brought to the scaffold as the former; and in the way to the scaffold, he put off his hat to the people on both sides, looking very austere about him; and being come upon the scaffold, lieutenant-colonel Beecher said to him, "Is your chaplain here?"

Capel. No; I have taken my leave of him. Perceiving some of his servants to weep, he said, "Gentlemen, refrain yourselves; refrain yourselves;" and turning to lieutenant-colonel Beecher, he said, "What? did the lords speak with their hats off, or no?"

Colonel Beecher. With their hats off.

Coming to the front of the scaffold, he said, "shall hardly be understood here I think;" and then began his speech, as followeth:

"The conclusion that I made with those that sent me hither, and are the cause of this violent death of mine, shall be the beginning of what I shall say to you. When I made an address to them, which was the last, I told them with much sincerity, that I would pray to the God of all mercies that they might be partakers of his inestimable and boundless mercies in Jesus Christ; and truly I still pray that prayer; and I beseech the God of heaven forgive any injury they have done to me; from my soul I wish it: and truly this I tell you as a Christian. But it is necessary I should tell you something more, that I am a protestant: and truly, I
am



Singhane Sivip

am very much in love with the profession of it, after the manner it was established in England by the thirty-nine articles :----A blessed way of profession, and such an one, as truly I never knew any so good. I am so far from being a papist, which somebody have, truly very unworthily, at some time charged me withal, that truly I profess to you, that though { I love good works, and commend good works, yet { I hold they have nothing at all to do in the matter of salvation ; my anchor-hold is, (That Christ loved me, and gave himself for me ; that is, that I rest upon.

“ And truly I shall say something to you as a citizen of the whole world ; and in that consideration I am here condemned to die ; truly contrary to the law that governs all the world ; that 'is, the law of the sword. I had the protection of that for my life, and the honour of it ; but truly I will not trouble you much with that, because in another place I have spoken very largely and liberally about it. I believe you will hear, by other means, what arguments I used in that case : but truly, that, that is stranger, you that are Englishmen, behold here an Englishman before you, an acknowledged peer, not condemned to die by any law of England, not by any law of England ; and, shall I tell you more, which is the strangest of all, contrary to all the laws of England that I know of ? And truly I will tell you, in the matter of the civil part of my death, and the cause that I have maintained, I die, I take it, for maintaining the fifth commandment, enjoined by God himself, which enjoins reverence and obedience to parents. All divines, on all hands, though they contradict one another in their many several opinions, yet all divines, on all hands, do acknowledge, that here is intended magistracy and order ; and certainly I have obeyed
that

506 The LIFE and DEATH of

that magistracy and that order under which I have lived, which I was bound to obey: and truly I do say very confidently, that I do die here for keeping, for obeying that fifth commandment, given by God himself, and written with his own finger.

“ And now, gentlemen, I will take this opportunity to tell you, That I cannot imitate a better, nor a greater ingenuity than his, that said of himself, For suffering an unjust judgment upon another, himself was brought to suffer by an unjust judgment.

“ Truly, gentlemen, that God may be glorified, that all men that are concerned in it may take the occasion of it, of humble repentance to God almighty for it, I do here profess to you, that I did give my vote to that bill against the earl of Strafford. I doubt not but God almighty hath washed that away with a more precious blood, the blood of his own Son, and my dear Saviour, Jesus Christ; and I hope he will wash it away from all those that are guilty of it. Truly, this I may say, I had not the least part or degree of malice in doing it; but I must confess again, to God's glory, and the accusation of my own frailty, and the frailty of my nature, that truly it was unworthy cowardice, not to resist so great a torrent as carried that business at that time. And truly, this I think I am most guilty of, of not courage enough in it, but malice I had none; but whatsoever it was, God, I am sure, hath pardoned it, hath given me the assurance of it, that Christ Jesus his blood hath washed it away; and truly I do from my soul wish, that all men that have any stain by it, may seriously repent, and receive remission and pardon from God for it.

And now, gentlemen, we have had an occasion, by this intimation, to remember his majesty, our
king

king that last was ; and I cannot speak of him, nor think of it, but truly, I must needs say, that, in my opinion, that have had time to consider all the images of all the greatest and virtuousest princes in the the world ; and truly, in my opinion, there was not a more virtuous, and more sufficient prince known in the world, than our gracious king Charles that died last. God Almighty preserve our king that new is, his son ; God send him more fortunate and longer days ; God Almighty so assist him, that he may exceed both the virtues and sufficiencies of his father ; for certainly I, that have been a counsellor to him, and have lived long with him, and in a time when discovery is easily enough made, for he was young, he was about thirteen, fourteen, fifteen, or sixteen years of age, those years I was with him ; truly, I never saw greater hopes of virtue in any young person than in him ; great judgment, great understanding, great apprehension, much honour in his nature, and truly a very perfect Englishman in his inclination ; and I pray God restore him to this kingdom, and unite the kingdoms one unto another, and send a great happiness both to you and to him, that he may long live and reign among you, and that family may reign till Thy kingdom come ; that is, while all temporal power is consummated. I beseech God of his mercy give much happiness to this your king, and to you that in it shall be his subjects by the grace of Jesus Christ.

Truly I like my beginning so well, that I will make my conclusion with it ; that is, That God Almighty would confer, of his infinite and inestimable grace and mercy, to those that are the causes of my coming hither, I pray God give them as much mercy as their hearts can wish ; and truly, for my part, I will not accuse any one of

them of malice, truly I will not; nay, I will not think there was any malice in them: what other ends there is, I know not, nor will I examine; but let it be what it will, from my very soul I forgive them, every one: and so the Lord of heaven bleſs you all, God Almighty be infinite in his goodness and mercy to you, and direct you in those ways of obedience to his commands, to his majesty, that this kingdom may be an happy and glorious nation again, and that your king may be an happy king, in so good and so obedient people: God Almighty keep you, God Almighty preserve your kingdom, God Almighty preserve you all."

Then turning about, and looking about for the executioner, who was gone off the scaffold, said, "Which is the gentleman, which is the man?" Answer was made, "He is coming." He then said, "Stay, I must pull off my doublet first and my waistcoat:" and then the executioner being come upon the scaffold, the lord Capel said, "Oh my friend! pr'ythee come hither." Then the executioner kneeling down, the lord Capel said, "I forgive thee from my soul; and not only forgive thee, but I shall pray God to give thee all grace for a better life. There is five pounds for thee; and truly, for my clothes, and those things, if there be any due to you for it, you shall be fully recompenced: but I desire my body may not be stripped here, and no body to take notice of my body but my own servants. Look you, friend, this I shall desire of you, that when I lie down, you would give me a time for a particular short prayer,"

Lieu. Col. Beecher. Make your own sign, my lord.

Capel. Stay a little. Which side do you stand upon?" speaking to the executioner. "Stay, I think I should lay my hands forward that way,"
pointing

pointing foreright: and answer being made "Yes," he stood a little while, and then said, "God Almighty bless all his people; God Almighty stanch this blood; God Almighty stanch, stanch, stanch this issue of blood; this will do the business. God Almighty find out another way to do it." And then turning to one of his servants, said, "Baldwin, I cannot see any thing that belongs to my wife; but I desire thee, and beseech her, to rest wholly upon Jesus Christ, to be contented and fully satisfied." And then speaking to his servants, he said, "God keep you; and, gentlemen, let me now do a business quickly, privately; and pray let me have your prayers at the moment of death, that God would receive my soul."

Lieu. Col. Beecher. I wish it.

Capel. Pray at the moment of striking join your prayers, but make no noise---turning to his servants---it is inconvenient at this time.

Servant. My lord put on your cap.

Capel. Should I, what will that do me good? Stay a little, it is well as it is now.----As he was putting up his hair.

And then turning to the executioner, he said, "Honest man, I have forgiven thee, therefore strike boldly; from my soul I do it.

Then a gentleman speaking to him, he said, "Nay, die contented; be quiet, good Mr. ---- be quiet.

Then turning to the executioner, he said, "Well, you are ready when I am ready, are you not;" and stretching out his hands he said, "Then pray stand off, gentlemen." Then going to the front of the scaffold, he said to the people, "Gentlemen, tho' I doubt not of it, yet I think it convenient to ask of you, That you would all join in prayers with me, That God would mercifully receive my soul,

and that for his alone mercies in Christ Jesus. God Almighty keep you all.

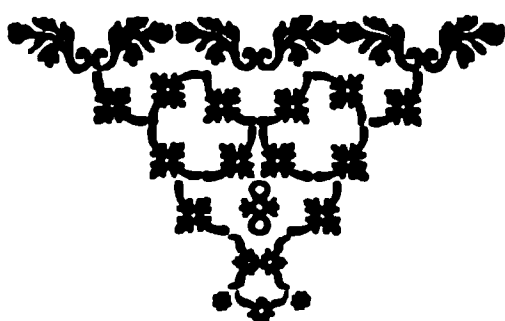
Execut. My lord shall I put up your hair?

Capel. I, pr'ythee do. And then as he stood, lifting up his hands and eyes, he said, "O God, I do, with a perfect and willing heart, submit to thy will. O God, I do most willingly humble myself:" and then kneeling down, said, "I will try first how I can lye;" and laying his head over the block, said, "Am I well now?"

Execut. Yes.

And then, as he lay with both his hands stretched out, he said to the executioner, "Here lie both my hands out, when I lift up my hand thus-----lifting up his right hand, then you may strike.

And then, after he said a short prayer, he lifted up his right hand, and the executioner at one blow severed his head from his body, which was taken up by his servants, and put with his body into a coffin as the former.





The Manner of the Death and Sufferings of the right honourable James, Earl of Derby, upon the Scaffold at Bolton in Lancashire; together with a true Copy of his Speech, Deportment and Prayer before his Death, on Wednesday, the fifteenth Day of October, 1651.

THE earl of Derby, according to the order of the court-martial held at Chester, by which he was sentenced to die at Bolton in Lancashire, was brought to that town with a guard of horse and foot of colonel Jones's, commanded by one Southley, who received his order from colonel Robert Duckenfield, betwixt twelve and one of the clock, on Wednesday, the fifteenth of October, the people weeping, praying, and bewailing him all the way from the prison at Chester to the place of his death.

He was brought to a house in the town near the cross, where the scaffold was raised; and as he passed by said, "Venio Domine: I am prepared to fulfil thy will, O my God. This scaffold must be my cross; blessed Saviour, I take it up willingly, and follow thee." From thence going into a chamber with some friends and servants, he was advertised by the commander in chief, that he had till three of the clock allowed him to prepare for death; for indeed the scaffold was not ready, the

people of the town and country generally refusing to carry so much as a plank, or strike a nail, or to lend any assistance to that work, their cry being generally in the streets, “ Oh sad day ! Oh woful “ day ! shall the good earl of Derby die here ? Many sad losses have we had in this war, but none like unto this ; for now the ancient honour of our country must suffer here.

To add to this trouble, most of the timber that built the scaffold was of the ruins of Latham house ; but nothing could alter his lordship’s resolution and courage ; for with a stedfast composed countenance, he called the company which were present to prayers with him, wherein he shewed admirable fervency, and a kind of humble importunity with almighty God, that he would pardon his sins, be merciful to his soul, and be gracious to this land, in restoring the king, laws and liberty ; and that he would be a husband to his wife, a father to his children, and a friend to all those that suffered by his loss, or that had been friends to him.

Rising from prayer, he sat down with a very pleasing countenance, and assured the standers by, that God had heard his prayers, which the blessed spirit of God witnessed unto him, in the present comforts he now felt in his soul. Then he entered into a discourse of his life, and beseeched God to forgive him the days and time he had mispent ; and said it was his comfort, that, although he had not walked so circumspectly as he ought to have done, yet he ever had a sense of his sins, and a tender respect to all the services, servants and ordinances of his God ; and that he knew God had mercy for him, that he had strengthened and comforted him against all the terrors of death.

His



His next business was with his son, the lord Strange, whom he publicly charged to be dutiful to his sad mother, affectionate to his distressed brothers and sisters, and studious of the peace of his country: "but especially," said he, "son, I charge you, upon my blessing, and upon the blessings you expect from God, to be ever dutiful to your distressed mother, ever obedient to her commands, and ever tender how you in any thing grieve or offend her. She is a person well known to the most eminent personages of England, France, Germany and Holland; noted for piety, prudence, and all honourable virtues; and certainly the more you are obedient to her, the more you will increase in favour with God and man.

Then he desired to be private in the room himself; where he was observed to be about half an hour upon his knees with frequent interjections or groans and sighs before his God. Then he called the company in again, and his eyes witnessed to them that he had abundantly mixed his tears with his prayers; he told them that he was very willing to leave the world, being assured, by the testimony of God's spirit, that he should be carried from trouble to rest and peace, from sorrow to joy, from life to death, and that death had no other bitterness in it to him, but that it took him from his dear wife and children; whom he humbly commended to the protection and providence of a better husband, and a better father; and that he did not doubt, but that the general, and they who sat in the seat of authority, would make provision for them, hoping that his death might satisfy all those who sought his life, whom he freely forgave; and desired God to do the like.

Then calling for his son, he took his leave of him, and blessed him; which indeed would have

grieved any one's heart, though ever so hardened, to see the parting of him now with his son, and with his two daughters, the lady Catharine, and the lady Amely Stanley, upon the road between Chester and Bolton the day before.

This ended, he called the officer, and told him he was ready. In his way to the scaffold, the people prayed, and wept, and cried aloud; to whom his lordship with a cheerful countenance, and courteous humbleness, said, "Good people, I thank you, and beseech you still pray for me, and our blessed God return your prayers back into your own bosoms: the God of mercies bless you; the Son of God establish you in righteousness, and the Holy Ghost fill you with all comforts."

Coming near the scaffold, he looked up and said, "God, I thank thee; I am not afraid to go up here, though I am to die there; there are but these few steps to my eternity." Then kissing the ladder, he went up and saluted the people; he walked a turn or two upon the scaffold, then went to the east end of it, and pulled off his hat again, and saluted the people with a cheerful countenance, saying, "I am come, by the will of my Heavenly Father, to die in this place; and, I thank God, I do with all willingness and readiness submit to his most blessed will.

" 'Tis a place I desired to see when I was last in the country, both for the mutual obligations that have been betwixt this town and my family, as also for your particular respects to me, whom I have understood to be ready to clear me from that foul imputation, That I was a man of blood; and that, particularly, I killed one Bootle here in cold blood. I doubt not but there are here many present, both that day this town was taken, and divers other times during this war, that can justify I pre-
served

served many lives; but I know there is not any one present that can lay the blood of any man whatsoever to my charge, unless what might casually happen in the fury and heat of a battle.

“As for my being in arms in the beginning of this war, I profess here, in the presence of God, before whom, within a few minutes, I must make a profession, I only fought for peace, and settling the late king my master in his just rights, and the maintainance of the laws of this land; and that I had no other design, intent, or purpose, for my then taking up arms: and for this last engagement, I profess here again, in the presence of the same God, that I did it for restoring of my lawful sovereign into the throne, out of which his father was most unchristianly and barbarously taken, by the most unjust sentence of a pretended court of justice, and himself against law and all justice, kept out and disposed of: and this was all my reason.

“Good friends, I die for the king, the laws of the land, and the protestant religion, as maintained in the church of England; all which, as I was ready to maintain with my life, so I cheerfully suffer for them in this welcome death.”

At the words King and Laws, a trooper said aloud, “We will neither have king, lord, nor laws: and upon a sudden the soldiers, being either surprized with fear at a strange noise that was heard, or else falling into mutiny, presently fell into a rout, riding up and down the streets, cutting and slaying the people, some being killed and many wounded.

His brother looking upon this sad spectacle, said thus, “Gentlemen, it troubles me more than my own death, that others are hurt, and, I fear, die for me. I beseech you stay your hands, I fly not, you pursue not me, and here are none to pursue you.”

516 The LIFE and DEATH of the

you." But being interrupted in his speech, he turned aside to his servant, and gave him the speech into his hand, saying, "I will speak to my God, who I know will hear me; and when I am dead, let the world know what I would have said." Here his lordship was interrupted; but it was as follows, in his own copy, under his own hand.

"I am sentenced to death by a council of war, after quarter for life, and assurance of honourable and safe usage by captain Edge. I had reason to have expected the council would have justified my plea, which hath been ancient, honourable, sacred and unviolable, until this time that I am made the first suffering precedent; for I dare affirm it, that never gentleman before, in any Christian nation, was adjudged to death by a council of war after quarter given. I am the first, and I pray God I may be the last precedent in this case. But I forgive them freely, and pray God, for Christ's sake, to forgive them also.

Of my faith and religion, I shall not, I hope, need to say much; herein I hope my enemies, if now I have any, will speak for me. I profess my faith to be in God only, from whom I look for salvation, through the precious merits and sufferings of my blessed Saviour Jesus Christ; which merits and sufferings are applied to my soul, by the blessed spirit of comfort, the spirit of God, by whom I am assured in my own soul, that my God is reconciled unto me in Jesus Christ my blessed Redeemer.

I die a dutiful son to the church of England, as it was established in the blessed prince my late master's reign; which all men of learning and temperance will acknowledge, to be the most pure and agreeable to the word of God, and primitive government,



EARL OF DERBY. 51

government, of any church within twelve or thirteen hundred years since Christ; and which, to my great comfort, I left established in the life of Man. God preserve it there, and restore it to this nation."

Presently after the tumult was over, his lordship called for the headsman, and asked to see the axe, and taking it in his hand, said, "Friend, I will not hurt it, and I am sure it cannot hurt me;" and then kissing it, said, "Methinks this is a wedding ring, which is as a sign I am to leave all the world, and eternally be married to my Saviour." Then putting his hand in his pocket, said to the headsman. "Here, friend, take these two pieces, all that I have; thou must be my priest, I pray thee do thy work well and effectually. Then handling the rough furred coat the headsman had on, "This," says he, "will be troublesome to thee; I pray thee put it off, and do it as willingly as I put off this garment of my flesh, that is now so heavy for my soul." Then some of the standers by bid the headsman kneel, and ask his lordship's pardon; but he did not, but was surly and crabbed: but his lordship said, "Friend, I give thee the pardon thou wilt not ask, and God forgive thee also." Then turning up his eyes to heaven, said aloud, "How long, Lord? How long?" Then gently passing over the scaffold, and seeing one of his chaplains on horseback among the people," said he, "pray for me, and the Lord return your prayers into your own bosom, and I pray remember me kindly to your brother, and God remember him for his love to me and mine."

Then turning towards his coffin, "Thou art," said he, "my bridal chamber, in thee I shall rest without a guard, and sleep without soldiers."

Then

518 The LIFE and DEATH of the

Then looking towards the block, he asked if all were ready. "That," said he, "methinks is very low, and yet there is but one step betwixt that and heaven." Then turning his eyes to the people, he saluted them, and desired again their prayers. Then said, "I see your tears, and hear your sighs and groans, and prayers. The God of heaven hear and grant your supplications for me, and mine for you, and the mediation of Christ Jesus for us all."

Here his lordship caused the block to be turned, that he might look upon the church, saying, "Whilst I am here, I will look towards thy holy sanctuary, and I know that within a few minutes I shall behold thee, my God and King, in thy sanctuary above; under the shadow of thy wings shall be my rest till this calamity be overpast. Then he pulled off his blue garter, and sent it to his son; and pulling off his doublet, with a very religious cheerfulness he said, "I come, Lord Jesus; and Oh come thou quickly, that I may be with thee for ever." Upon this he said, "Pray tell me how must I lie? I have been called a bloody man, yet truly I never yet had that severe curiosity to see any man put to death in peace." Then laying himself down on the block, after a few minutes he rose again, and caused the block to be a little removed. Then said to the headsmen, "Friend, remember what I said to thee; and be no more afraid to strike than I to die; and when I put up my hand, do thy work." So looking round about upon his friends and the people, he said, "The Lord bless you all; and once more pray for me:" at which words he kneeled down and prayed privately within himself, with great sighings, about half a quarter of an hour, concluding with the Lord's prayer. Then rising up again, he said smilingly, "My soul
is

is now at rest, and so shall my body be immediately. The Lord bless my king, and restore him to his right in this kingdom, and restore them to their rights in their king; that he and they may join hand in hand, to settle truth and peace; and the Lord bless this county, and this town, and this people. The Lord comfort my sad wife and children, and reward all my friends with peace and happiness, both here and hereafter; and the Lord forgive them who were the cause and authors of this my sad end and unjust death, for so it is as to mankind, though before God I deserve much worse; but I hope my sins are all bathed in the blood of Jesus Christ." So laying his head upon the block, and his arms stretched out, he said these words:

"Blessed be God's name for ever and ever. Let the whole earth be filled with his glory. Amen, Amen."

At which words he gave the headsman the sign; but he either not observing it, or not being ready, stayed too long, so that his lordship rose up again saying, "Why do you keep me from my Saviour? What have I done that I die not, and that I may live with him? Once more I will lay me down in peace, and so take my everlasting rest."

Then saying, "Come, Lord Jesus, come quickly," he stretched out his arms, and gave the sign, repeating the same words:

"Blessed be God's name for ever and ever. Let the whole earth be filled with his glory. Amen, Amen."

Then lifting up his hand, the executioner did his work at one blow, all the people weeping and giving all expressions of grief and lamentation.

When the corps was carried off the scaffold, they carried it to a house in the town, where was thrown into his coffin in a piece of paper these two lines:

Upon

Upon JAMES, Earl of DERBY.

Bounty, wit, courage, all (here) in one lie dead:
A Stanley's hand, Vere's heart, and Cecil's head.

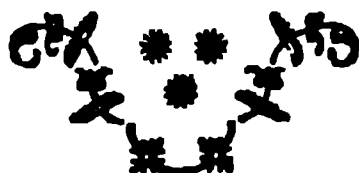
The Sentence of the Council of War.

Resolved by the court upon the question,

That James, earl of Derby, is guilty of the breach of the act of the twelfth of August, 1651, last past, entitled, An act prohibiting correspondence with Charles Stuart, or his party; and so of high-treason against the commonwealth of England, and is therefore worthy of death.

Resolved by the court,

That the said James, earl of Derby, is a traitor to the commonwealth of England, and an abettor; encourager and assister of the declared traitors and enemies thereof, and shall be put to death by severing his head from his body, at the market-place in the town of Bolton in Lancashire, upon Wednesday, the fifteenth day of this instant, October, about the hour of one of the clock of the same day.





A perfect Relation of the Death and Sufferings of the most loyal and valiant Marquis of Montross, General of his Majesty's Forces in the Kingdom of Scotland, who was inhumanly executed at Edinburgh on the seventeenth of May, 1650, with the true Copy of his Speech immediately before his Execution.

THE parliament of Scotland being informed that the marquis of Montross was taken, and foreseeing that his countenance and carriage might gain him some favour amongst the people, thought fit to give out their sentence against him before he should come to Edinburgh; and therefore, upon the seventeenth of May, anno 1650, in the morning, they appointed a committee to prepare and give in their opinions what was fittest to be done with him; where, the same forenoon, they in their report in writing to this effect: That so soon as he should come to the town, he should be met at the gate by the magistrates and hangman; that he should be tied with chords upon a cart bare-headed, and the hangman to ride upon the horse that drew the cart covered before him, and so to be brought through the town: that he should be hanged on a gibbet at the cross of Edinburgh until he died, his history and declaration hanging about his neck, and so hang three hours in public view of all the people; after which he should

should be beheaded and quartered : his head to be fixed upon the prison house of Edinburgh, and his legs and arms over the gates of the cities of Sterling, Glascow, Perth, alias St. John's-Town, and Aberdeen: and, in case he repented, (whereby the sentence of excommunication may be taken off by the church) the bulk of his body should be buried in the Grey-Friers ; if not, to be buried in the Borrow-moor.

Upon the eighteenth day, about four o'clock in the afternoon, he was brought in at the water-gate, and, according to the sentence, was met by the magistrates, the guards and the hangman of the city, the rest of the prisoners being tyed two and two together, going bare-headed before him.

So soon as he came within the gate, the magistrates shewed him the sentence ; which when he had read, and perceived the cart, and the hangman there ready, he said, He would willingly obey, he was only sorry that through him his majesty, whose person he presented, should be so dishonoured. Then going cheerfully into the cart, he being uncovered, was by the hangman tyed thereunto with ropes, and the hangman on the horse rid covered.

Thus was he carried to the prison, and in all the way there appeared in him such a majesty, courage, and modesty, no way daunted, that his very enemies, nay common women, who as it was believed by divers would have stoned him in the cart as he passed, were upon the sight of him so astonished, and moved, that their intended curses were turned into tears and prayers for him ; insomuch as the next day, being Sunday, the ministers preached against them for not reviling and stoning him as he passed along.

When

When he was taken from the cart, he gave the hangman gold, telling him, That was a reward for driving the cart. It was seven o'clock at night before he was entered into the prison, and immediately the parliament met, and sent some of their members, and some ministers, to examine him; but he refused to answer any thing to them, until he was satisfied upon what terms they stood with the king, his royal master; which being reported unto the parliament, they ceased proceeding against him till Monday, and allowed their commissioners to tell him, that the king and they were agreed. He desired to be at rest, for he was weary with a long journey: and said, The compliment they had put upon him that day was somewhat tedious.

The next day being Sunday, he was constantly attended by ministers and parliament men, who still pursued him with threatnings; but they got no advantage of him. He told them, They thought they had affronted him the day before by carrying him in a cart, but they were much mistaken; for he thought it the most honourable and joyfullest journey that ever he made, God having all the while most comfortably manifested his presence to him, and furnished him with resolution to overlook the reproaches of men, and to behold him for whose cause he suffered.

Upon Monday in the forenoon he was brought before the parliament, and after the delivery of a long penned discourse by the chancellor, wherein he was pleased to take notice of his miscarriages against the first covenant, the league and covenant, his invasion, and joining with the Irish rebels, and blood-guiltiness; and that now, how God had brought him to just punishment; he desired to know, if he might be allowed to speak for himself; which being granted he said,

“ Since you have declared unto me, that you have agreed with the king, I look upon you, as if his majesty were sitting amongst you ; and in that relation I appear with this reverence, bare-headed. My care hath been always to walk as became a good Christian, and a loyal subject. I engaged in the first covenant, and was faithful to it, until I perceived some private persons, under colour of religion, intended to wring the authority from the king, and to seize on it for themselves ; and when it was thought fit, for the clearing of honest men, that a bond should be subscribed, wherein the security of religion was sufficiently provided for, I subscribed. For the league and covenant, I thank God I was never in it, and so could not break it ; but how far religion hath been advanced by it, and the sad consequences that have followed on it, these poor distressed kingdoms can witness : for when his late majesty had, by the blessing of God, almost subdued those enemies that rose against him in arms in England, and that a faction of this kingdom went in to the assistance of them ; his majesty gave commission to me, to come into this kingdom, and to make a diversion of those forces that were going from hence against him. I acknowledged the command most just, I conceived myself bound in conscience and duty to obey it. What my carriage was in this country, many of you may bear witness : disorders in any army cannot be prevented, but they were no sooner known than punished ; never was any blood spilt but in battle ; and, even then, many thousand lives have I preserved ; and, as I came in upon his majesty's warrant, so, upon his letters, did I lay aside all interest, and retreated.

“ And for my coming in at this time, it was by his majesty's command, in order to the accelerating

rating of the treaty betwixt him and you ; his majesty knowing, that when ever he had ended with you, I was ready to retire upon his call. I may justly say, that never subject acted upon more honourable grounds, nor by a more lawful power than I did in this service ; and therefore I desire you to lay aside all prejudice, and consider me as a Christian, in relation to the justice of the quarrel ; as a subject, in relation to my royal master's commands ; and as your neighbour, in relation to the many of your lives I have preserved in battle : and be not too rash, but let me be judged by the laws of God, the laws of nature, and nations, and the laws of this land ; if you do otherwise, I do here appeal from you to the righteous judge of the world, who one day must be your judge and mine, and who always gives righteous judgment."

This he delivered with such gravity, and without passion, as was much admired, even by his enemies. After which, the chancellor commanded the sentence to be read, which he heard with a settled and unmoved countenance ; and desiring to be further heard, was presently stopped by the chancellor, who commanded he should immediately be removed back again to prison : where being no sooner come, but the ministers assaulted him afresh, aggravating the terror of the sentence, thereby to affright him. He acknowledged himself much beholding to the parliament for the honour they put upon him, saying, He took it for a greater honour to have his head stand upon the prison gate for this quarrel, then to have his picture in the king's bed-chamber ; and, lest his loyalty should be forgotten, they had highly honoured him, in designing lasting monuments to four of the chiefest cities, to bear up his memorial to all posterity ;

wishing he had flesh enough to have sent a piece to every city in christendom, to witness his loyalty to his king and country.

His friends were not suffered to come near him, but a guard was always in the chamber with him, insomuch as he had neither time nor place for his private devotions, but in their hearing.

The next day, being the twenty-first, cloathed in a scarlet cloak, richly laced with gold lace, he was brought to the scaffold. He came along the streets with so great state, and there appeared in his countenance so much beauty, majesty and gravity, as amazed the beholders; and many, even of his enemies, did acknowledge him to be the gallantest subject in the world: but because all his friends and well-wishers were debarred from coming near him, there was a boy designed for that purpose on the scaffold, who took his last speech, which was to this effect:

“ I AM sorry, if this manner of my end be scandalous to any good Christian. Doth it not often happen to the righteous according to the ways of the wicked, and to the wicked according to the ways of the righteous? Doth not some time a just man perish in his righteousness, and a wicked man prosper in his malice? They who know me, should not disesteem me for this; many greater than I have been dealt with in this kind; yet I must not say, but that all God’s judgments are just; for my private sins, I acknowledge this to be just with God; I submit myself to him; but in regard of man, I may say, they are but instruments; God forgive them, I forgive them; they have oppressed the poor, and violently perverted judgment and justice; but he that is higher than they will reward them.

“ What

“ What I did in this kingdom, was in obedience to the most just commands of my sovereign ; for his defence in the day of his distress, against those that rose up against him. I acknowledge nothing, but fear God and honour the king, according to the commandments of God, and the law of nature and nations ; and I have not sinned against man, but against God ; and with him there is mercy, which is the ground of my drawing near unto him.

“ It is objected against me by many, even good people, That I am under the censure of the church. This is not my fault, since it is only for doing my duty, by obeying my prince’s most just commands, for religion, his sacred person, and authority. Yet I am sorry they did excommunicate me, and in that which is according to God’s laws, without wronging my conscience or allegiance. I desire to be relaxed ; if they will not do it, I appeal to God, who is the righteous judge of the world, and who must, and will, I hope, be my judge and saviour.

“ It is spoken of me, that I should blame the king :----God forbid !----for the late king, he lived a saint and died a martyr. I pray God, I may so end my life as he did : if ever I should wish my soul in another man’s stead, it would be his. For his majesty now living, never people, I believe, might be more happy in a king : his commands to me were most just ; in nothing that he promiseth will he fail. He deals justly with all men, I pray God he be so dealt withal, that he be not betrayed under trust, as his father was.

“ I desire not to be mistaken, as if my carriage at this time in relation to your ways were stubborn, I do not follow the light of my own conscience, which is seconded by the working of the good
M m 3 spirit

spirit of God that is within me; I thank him, I go to heaven's throne with joy. If he enable me against the fear of death, and furnish me with courage and confidence to embrace it, even in its most ugly shape. Let god be glorified in my end, tho' it were in my damnation. Yet I say not this out of any fear or distrust, but out of my duty to God and love to his people.

“ I have no more to say, but that I desire your charity and prayers. I shall pray for you all. I leave my soul to God, my service to my prince, my good will to my friends, and my name and charity to you all. And thus, briefly, I have exonerated my conscience.

Being desired to pray apart, he said, “ I have already poured out my soul before the Lord, who knows my heart, and into whose hands I have commended my spirit; and he hath been graciously pleased to return me a full assurance of peace in Jesus Christ my redeemer; and therefore, if you will not join with me in prayer, my reiterating again will be both scandalous to you and me.” So closing his eyes, and holding up his hands, he stood a space at his inward devotions, being perceived to be inwardly moved all the while. When he had done, he called for the executioner, and gave him money. Then having brought unto him, hanging in a cord, his declaration and history, he hanged them about his neck, saying, “ Though it hath pleased his sacred majesty, that now is, to make me one of the knights of the most honourable order of the garter, yet I did not think myself more honoured by the garter, than by that chord with the books, which I would embrace about my neck with as much joy and content, as ever I did the garter, or a chain of gold :” and therefore desired

fired them to be tied unto him in what manner they pleased.

When this was done, and his arms tyed, he asked the officers, If they had any more dishonour, as they conceived it, to put upon him, he was ready to accept it: and so, with an undaunted courage and gravity, suffered, according to the sentence passed upon him.



The Behaviour and Speech of the Honourable Colonel Penruddock, which he delivered upon the Scaffold in Exeter Castle, on the Sixteenth Day of May, 1655.

AS he was ascending the scaffold, baring his knees, and humbly bowing himself, he used these words: "This I hope will prove to be like Jacob's ladder; though the feet of it rest on earth, yet I doubt not but the top of it reacheth to heaven."

When he came upon the scaffold, he said,

"Oh! wretched man that I am, who shall deliver me from this body of death? I thank God, who hath given me victor through our Lord Jesus Christ."

Then, with abundance of Christian cheerfulness, he spake to the people as followeth:

"GENTLEMEN,

"IT hath ever been the custom of all persons whatsoever when they come to die, to give some satisfaction to the world, whether they be guilty of the fact of which they stand charged. The crime for which I am now to die, is loyalty; but, in this age, called high-treason. I cannot deny but that I was at South-Moulton, in this country; but whether my being there, or my action there, amount to so high a crime as high-treason, I leave to the world and the law to judge. Truly, if I were conscious to myself of any base ends that I had



W. J. Smith

Had in this undertaking, I would not be so injurious to my own soul, or so disingenuous to you, as not to make a public acknowledgment thereof. I suppose that divers persons, according as they are by their several interests and relation bialled, give their opinions to the world concerning us. I conceive it impossible therefore so to express myself in this particular, as not to expose both my judgment and reputation to the censure of many which I shall leave behind me. Because I will not put others therefore upon a breach of charity concerning me or my actions, I have thought fit to decline all discourses which may give them a capacity either to injure themselves or me.

“ My trial was public, and my several examinations, I believe, will be produced when I am in my grave. I will refer you therefore to the first, which I am sure some of you heard; and to the latter, which many of you, in good time, may see. Had captain Crook done himself and us that right which a gentleman and a soldier ought to have done, I had not now been here. The man I forgive with all my heart, but truly, gentlemen, his protesting against those articles he himself, with so many protestations and importunities put upon us, hath drawn so much dishonour and blood upon his own head, that I fear some heavy judgment will pursue him. Though he hath been false to us, I pray to God that I do not prove a true prophet to him.

“ Nay, I must say more: that coming on the road to Exon, he, the said captain Crook, told me, sir John Wagstaffe was a gallant gentleman, and that he was sorry that he was not taken with us; that then he might have had the benefit of our articles: ‘ but now’ said he, ‘ I have beset all the country for him, so that he cannot escape, but must be hanged.’

He questioned me, as I passed through Salisbury from London, whether he had given me conditions: which I endeavouring to make appear at that time to major Butler, he interrupted me, and unwillingly confessed it, saying, I proffered him four hundred pounds to perform his articles: which had been a strange proffer of mine, had I not really conditioned with him: and I told him then, having found him unworthy, I would have given him five hundred pounds, believing him to be mercenary.

“ To make it further appear I injure him not by stiling him unworthy, after these articles were given he threatened to pistol me, if I did not persuade another house to yield which were then boldly resisting. To which my servant, John Bilby, now a prisoner, replied, ‘ I hope you will not be so unworthy as to break the law of arms.’

“ Thus much I am obliged to say, to the honour of the soldiery, that they have ever been so far from breaking any articles given to others, that they have rather bettered them than otherwise.

“ It is now our misfortunes to be made presidents and examples together, but I will not do the protector so much injury as to load him with this dishonour, since I have been informed, that he would have made our conditions good, if Crook, that gave them had not abjured them.

“ This is not a time for me to enlarge upon any subject, since I am now become the subject of death; but since the articles were drawn by my hand, I thought myself obliged to a particular justification of them.

“ I could tell you of some soldiers which are turned out of his troop for defending those conditions of ours: but let that pass; and henceforward, instead of life, liberty and estate, which
were

were the articles agreed upon, let drawing, hanging and quartering bear the denomination of captain Crook's articles.

“ However, I thank the protector for granting me this honourable death.

“ I should now give you an account of my faith: but truly, gentlemen, this poor nation is rent into so many several opinions, that it is impossible for me to give you mine without displeasing some of you. However, if any be so critical as to enquire of what faith I die, I shall refer him to the Apostles, Athanasius, and the Nicene Creed; and to the testimony of this reverend gentleman, Dr. Short, to whom I have unbofomed myself; and if this do not satisfy, look into the Thirty-nine Articles of the Catholic Church of England. To them I have subscribed, and do own them as authentic.

“ Having now given you an account concerning myself, I am obliged, in duty to some of my friends, to take off a suspicion which lies upon them: I mean to some persons of honour, which upon my examination, I was charged to have held correspondence with. The marquis of Hartford, the marquis of Winchester, and my lord of Pembroke were the persons nominated to me. I did then acquit them, and do now second it with this protestation, That I never held any correspondence with either or any of them, in relation to this particular business, or indeed to any thing which concerned the protector or government. As for the marquis of Winchester, I saw him some twelve years since, and not later; and if I should see him here present, I believe I should not know him. And for the earl of Pembroke, he was not a man likely to whom I should discover my thoughts

thoughts, because he is a man of contrary judgment.

“ I was examined likewise concerning my brother Freke, my cousin Hastings, Mr. Dorington, and others. It is probable their estates may make them liable to this my condition; but I do here so far acquit them, as to give the world this farther protestation; That I am confident they are as innocent in this business as the youngest child here.

“ I have no more to say to you now, but to let you know, that I am in charity with all men, I thank God. I both can, and do, forgive my greatest persecutors, and all that ever had any hand in my death.

“ I have offered the protector as good security for my future demeanour as I suppose he could have expected. If he had thought fit to have given me my life, certainly I should not have been so ungrateful as to have employed it against him. I do humbly submit to God's pleasure, knowing that the issues of life and death are in his hand. My blood is but a small sacrifice; if it had been saved, I am so much a gentleman as to have given thanks to him that had preserved it: and so much Christian, as to forgive them which take it. But seeing God by his providence hath called me to lay it down, I will willingly submit to it, though terrible to nature; but blessed be my Saviour, who hath taken out the sting; so that I look upon it without terror. Death is a debt, and a due debt; and it hath pleased God to make me so good a husband, that I am come to pay it before it is due. I am not ashamed of that cause for which I die, but rather rejoyce that I am thought worthy to suffer in the defence and cause of God's true church, my lawful king, the liberty of the subject, and privilege

ledge of parliaments. Therefore I hope none of mine alliance and friends will be ashamed of it. It is so far from pulling down my family, that I look upon it as the raising it one story higher. Neither was I so prodigal of nature as to throw away my life, but have used, though none but honourable and honest, means to preserve it.

“ These unhappy times, indeed, have been very fatal to my family : two of my brothers already slain, and myself going to the slaughter. It is God’s will, and I humbly submit to that providence.

“ I must render an acknowledgment of the great civilities that I have received from this city of Exon, and some persons of quality, and for their plentiful provision made for the prisoners. I thank Mr. Sheriff for his favour towards us, in particular to myself ; and I desire him to present my due respects to the protector, and though he had no mercy for myself, yet that he would have respect to my family.

“ I am now stripping off my cloaths to fight a duel with death, I conceive no other duel lawful, but my Saviour hath pulled out the sting of this mine enemy, by making himself a sacrifice for me : and truly I do not think that man deserving one drop of his blood, that will not spill all for him in so good a cause.

“ The truth is, gentlemen, in this age, treason is an inviduum vacuum ; like the wind in the gospel, it bloweth where it listeth ; so now treason is what they please, and lighteth upon whom they will. Indeed no man, except he will be a traitor, can avoid this censure of treason. I know not to what end it may come, but I pray God my own, and my brother’s blood, that is now to die with me, may be the last upon this score.

“ Now

“ Now, gentlemen, you may see what a condition you are in without a king ; you have no law to protect you ; no rule to walk by ; when you perform your duty to God, your king, and your country, you displease the arbitrary power now set up : I cannot call it government. I shall leave you to peruse my trial, and there you shall see, what a condition this poor nation is brought into ; and, no question, will be utterly destroyed, if not restored by loyal subjects to its old and glorious government. I pray God he lay not this judgment upon England, for their sluggishness in doing their duty, and readiness to put their hands in their bosoms, or rather taking part with the enemy of truth. The Lord open their eyes, that they may be no longer led, or drawn into such snares : else the child unborn will curse the day of their parents birth.

“ God Almighty preserve my lawful king Charles the second, from the hands of his enemies, and break down the wall of pride and rebellion which so long hath kept him from his just rights. God preserve his royal mother, and all his majesty’s royal brethren, and incline their hearts to seek after him. God incline the hearts of all true Englishmen, to stand up, as one man, to bring in the king ; and redeem themselves, and this poor kingdom, out of its more than Egyptian slavery.

“ As I have now put off these garments of cloth, so I hope I have put off my garments of sin, and have put on the robes of Christ’s righteousness here, which will bring me to the enjoyment of his glorious robes anon.”

Then he kneeled down and kissed the block, and said thus : “ I commit my soul to God, my creator and redeemer. Look on me, O Lord, at my
my

my last gasping: hear my prayer, and the prayers of all good people. I thank thee, O God, for all thy dispensations towards me."

Then, after kneeling devoutly to prayer for a few minutes, he desired to see the axe, and kissed it saying, "I am like to have a sharp passage of it, but my Saviour hath sweetened it unto me."

He afterward added, "If I would have been so unworthy as others have been, I suppose, I might by a lie have saved my life, which I scorn to purchase at such a rate. I defy such temptations, and them that gave them."

"Glory be to God on high: on earth, peace: Good will towards men. And the Lord have mercy upon my poor soul. Amen."

So laying his neck upon the block, after some private ejaculations, he gave the headsman a sign with his hand, who, at one blow, severed his head from his body.



The

The Behaviour and Speech of that piously resolved Hugh Grove, of Chisenbury, in the Parish of Enford and County of Wilts, Esq. beheaded on the sixteenth Day of May, 1655, in the Castle at Exon.

“ Good People,

I NEVER was guilty of much rhetoric, nor ever loved long speeches in all my life; and therefore you cannot expect either of them from me now at my death. All that I shall desire of you, besides your hearty prayers for my soul, is, That you will bear me witness, I die a true son of the church of England, as it was established by king Edward VI. queen Elizabeth, king James, and king Charles I. of ever blessed memory; that I die a loyal subject to king Charles II. my undoubted sovereign, and a lover of the good old laws of the land, the just priviledges of parliaments, and rights of the people; for the re-establishing of all which, I do undertake this engagement: and for which I am ready to lay down my life. God forgive the bloody-minded jury, and those that procured them: God forgive captain Crook for denying his articles so unworthily: God forgive Mr. Dove; and all other persons swearing so maliciously and falsely against me: God forgive all my enemies; I heartily forgive them. God blefs the king, and all that love him; turn the hearts of all that hate him. God blefs you all, and be merciful to you and to my soul. Amen.”

And so meekly laying his neck on the block, and giving a sign, his head at one blow and a draw of the axe, was severed from his body.



The Manner of the Execution of Sir Henry Slingsby, on Tuesday the Eighth of June, 1658, upon Tower-hill; with the Substance of his Speech before his Death.

ABOUT eleven of the clock, sir Henry Slingsby was brought from the Tower to the scaffold on Tower-hill; whither being come, he fell upon his knees, and for a short time prayed privately.

Then standing up, he did, in a short speech, and with a very low voice, address himself to that noble gentleman Mr. Sheriff Robinson, telling him that what he had to say he would speak to him; which was to this purpose:

That he had received a sentence to die, upon account of his endeavouring to betray the garrison of Hull: but said, All that he did in that business he was drawn into by others.

That the officers of that garrison did believe he had some greater design in hand, and therefore they would needs pump him to the bottom: but what he spoke to them in private was brought into evidence against him. He likewise said, That he did no more than any person would have done that was so brought on.

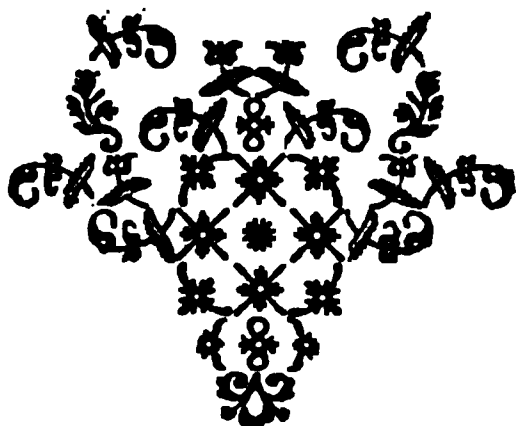
That he had made many applications, by his friends, for a reprieve, but found his highness was inexorable,

He did confess, that he did deliver a commission, as it was charged against him; but said, that it was an old commission, and what was meant was

well known to himself; but what construction others had made of it, might appear by his present condition.

He discovered little sense of sorrow, or fear of death; but said, He was ready to submit; or words to the like purpose.

Then he addressed himself to private prayer again; and kneeling down at the block he prayed privately for a short space; then laid his neck upon the block, and, at the sign given, the executioner severed his head from his body at one blow; and his friends put his body into a coffin, and removed it into a close coach prepared near the place.



T H E



T H E
L I F E A N D D E A T H
O F
S I R C H A R L E S L U C A S.

SIR CHARLES LUCAS, whose tragic end makes the subject of the present article, signalized himself in the party of the royalists. At the battle of Marston-Moor, which was fought on the second of July, 1644, he commanded the right wing of the king's army, in conjunction with colonel Hurry. It must reflect great honour on sir Charles Lucas, and highly illustrate his abilities as a general, that he was successful when prince Rupert failed, and entirely routed the left wing of the parliament's army. The two victorious wings, after chasing their enemies, returned to the field of battle, and met one another face to face, by some accident or other ; so that each stood on the same ground that the enemy possessed at the beginning of the battle. Here the fight was renewed and maintained on both sides with great warmth and vigor, till, at last, night approaching, the king's horse were put to flight, and pursued as long as day would permit. Much about the same time the king's foot were put to flight.

Sir Charles Lucas, major-general Porter, major-general Tillyard, and the lord Goring's son, were among the prisoners. Among the colours were the prince Rupert's standard, with the arms of the palatine and a red cross in the middle ; a yellow coronet

coronet, in the middle a lion couchant, and behind him a mastiff seeming to snatch at him, and in a label from his mouth written Kimbolton ; at his feet little beagles, and before their mouths written Pym, Pym, Pym ; and out of the Lion's mouth these words proceeding, *Quosque tandem abutere patientiâ nostrâ*.

After Fairfax had, in 1648, defeated the Kentish men, who had made an insurrection in favour of the king, the Essex royalists, not in the least discouraged with this ill success, immediately followed their example. They still hoped either that London would declare for the king, or that the Scotch army would make so great a progress, that the army of England would not be able to withstand so many attacks from all quarters ; for there was scarce a county but what was to make some insurrection, those especially where the king's party prevailed during the war. Therefore the parliament, having sent a general pardon into Essex for such as should lay down their arms, most of them refused it at the instigation of sir Charles Lucas, who was the most active royalist in those parts.

General Fairfax having marched into Essex against these revolvers, they retired to Colchester, before the avenues of which they immediately threw up such works, that they did not fear being stormed.

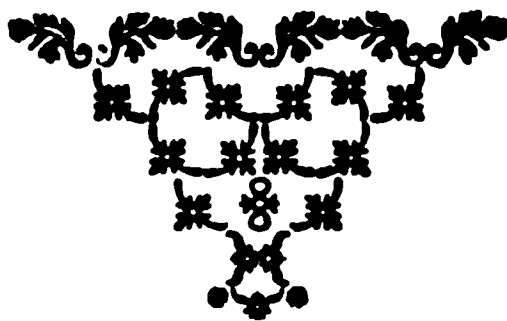
The leading men who were in Colchester, were the earl of Norwich, the lord Capel, sir George Lisle, sir William Compton, sir Charles Lucas, sir Bernard Gascoign, lieutenant-colonel Farr, and several other good officers, with a garrison of three thousand men, all determined to sell their lives as dear as possible.

This induced the general to block up the place, in order to take it by famine. The Scots, who had
taken

taken up arms in the king's favour, having been defeated in 1648, Colchester surrendered at discretion, after a blockade of two months.

Hereupon the general called a council of war, where it was determined, that the lord George Lisle, sir Charles Lucas, and sir Bernard Gascoigne, should be shot to death. The two first were executed pursuant to their sentence, but the general hearing that sir Bernard was a Florentine, saved his life for fear the grand-duke should make reprisals upon the English gentlemen who travelled into his dominions.

Sir Charles Lucas died like a soldier, as he had lived without, betraying the least symptom of fear, or the least regret at leaving life. He maintained his principles to the last, and even discovered satisfaction that he died for the cause of his royal master.



The

T H E
L I F E A N D D E A T H
O F
S I R G E O R G E L I S L E

SIR GEORGE LISLE is scarce mentioned in history, except at his death, the circumstances of which being very remarkable, we shall here lay them before our readers, having first given them a brief account of the events which immediately preceded it.

Upon the total defeat of the Scottish army, those noble persons who had taken refuge in Colchester, were sensible that there was no possibility of relief, nor could they subsist longer to expect it, being pressed with want of all kind of victuals, and having eaten almost all their horses. They sent therefore to Fairfax, to treat about surrendering the town upon reasonable conditions; but he refused to treat if they would not give up all the officers and gentlemen to his mercy. The common soldiers he was contented to dismiss. A day or two was spent in deliberation. They within proposed to make a brisk sally, and thereby to shift for themselves as many as could. But they had too few horse, and the few that were left uneaten, were too weak for that enterprize. Then that they should open a port, and every man die with his arms in his hands; but that way they could only be sure of being killed, without much hurting their adversaries, who had ways enough securely
to



to assault them. Hereupon they were at last obliged to deliver themselves up prisoners at mercy ; all the officers and gentlemen were led into the public hall of the town, where they were locked up, and a strong guard set upon them. They were required presently to send a list of their names to the general ; which they did ; and within a short time after, a guard was sent to bring sir Charles Lucas, sir George Lisle, and sir Bernard Gascoigne, to the general, who was then holding a council of war. They were carried in, and in a very short discourse told, that after so long and so obstinate a defence, until they found it necessary to deliver themselves up to mercy, it was necessary, for the example of others, and that the peace of the kingdom might no more be disturbed in that manner, that some military justice should be executed ; and therefore that council had determined they three should be presently shot to death ; for which they were advised to prepare themselves ; and, without considering or hearing what they had a mind to say for themselves, they were led into a yard thereby, where they found three files of musqueteers ready for their dispatch.

The execution being delayed till sir Bernard Gascoigne could write over to the duke of Florence, whose subject he was, the news of this bloody resolution was brought to the prisoners in the town, who were infinitely afflicted with it, and the lord Capel prevailed with an officer of their guard to carry a letter, signed by the chief persons and the officers, and in the name of the rest, to the general ; in which they took notice of that judgment, and desired him either to forbear the execution of it, or that they might all, who were equally guilty with these three, undergo the same sentence with them. The letter was delivered,

but had no other effect than sending to the officer to dispatch his order, reserving the Italian to the last.

Sir Charles Lucas was their first work, who being dead, sir George Lisle ran to him, embraced and kissed him, and then stood up and looked those who were to execute him in the face; and thinking they stood at too great a distance, spoke to them to come nearer: to which one of them said, "I'll warrant you, sir, we'll hit you." He answered, smiling, "Friends, I've been nearer you, when you have missed me." Thereupon they all fired upon him, and did their work home, so that he fell down dead of many wounds without speaking a word.

The character of sir George Lisle was almost the reverse of that of sir Charles Lucas, tho' his education had been the same, and at the same an officer of foot. The other, who had been bred in the Low-Countries, under the prince of Orange, had always served in the horse. He had all the courage of the other, and led his men to battle with such an alacrity, that no man was ever better followed; his soldiers never forsaking him; and the party which he commanded never left any thing undone which he led them upon. But, notwithstanding the ardor of his courage, he had the softest and most gentle disposition imaginable; was kind to all, and beloved of all, and incapable of making any man his enemy.

T H E

T H E
L I F E A N D D E A T H
O F

William, Lord Ruffel.

WILLIAM, lord Ruffel, was second son of William, earl, and afterwards duke of Bedford, by Anne, daughter and heir of Robert Car, earl of Somerset. In April, 1679, he was received into his majesty's new council; and the year following, was elected member of parliament for the county of Bedford in which sessions he industriously did all in his power to promote the bill for the exclusion of the duke of York from the succession; the debate concerning which was opened by him on the twenty-sixth of October, with a declaration of his opinion, that the life of his majesty, the safety of the nation and the protestant religion, were greatly in danger from popery; and that either that parliament must check its growth and power, or else it would soon destroy, not only parliaments, but all that was dear and valuable to them. For which reason he moved, that they would take it into immediate consideration, how to suppress popery and prevent a popish successor.

The bill being accordingly passed in the house of commons, his lordship, on the fifteenth of November, carried it up to the peers, who rejecting it, the commons were highly incensed, and lord Ruffel in particular said, that if ever there should
happen

happen in this nation, any such revolution as should deprive him of the liberty of living a protestant, he was resolved to die one; and therefore would not willingly suffer the strength of their enemies to be encreased. But these, and speeches of the like tendency having disgusted the court, the parliament was prorogued on the tenth of January, 1680-1. However, as the king's affairs required the meeting of another parliament, his majesty called one, which assembled at Oxford on the twenty-first of March following; in which lord Russel served again as knight of the shire for the county of Bedford. But on the second bill of exclusion being moved for by sir Robert Clayton and his lordship joining in the proposal, that parliament was soon after dissolved, and no other called during the reign of Charles II.

In June, 1633, lord Russel was accused of being concerned in the Rye-house plot; and though he knew of a messenger's being sent for him, before he was apprehended, and had it in his power to make his escape, he resolved to wait the event, from a firm persuasion, that his retirement would give the court too great an advantage against him, and would look like a confession of guilt whilst he was conscious of his innocence, never once thinking of the discourse that had passed at Mr. Shepherd's while he was tasting of wines.

He was brought to his trial at the Old Bailey on the thirteenth of July following. The most that was proved against him, was, that he was in company where treason was talked, without joining in that discourse, or giving any sort of assent to it; and this amounted to no more than misprision, or concealment of treason. Such was his candor that he spoke but little as to the fact; for being advised not to relate the whole truth, he said he could not
speak

ſpeak againſt what he knew to be true, though the truth had in ſome particulars been exaggerated : and as he was not allowed to make the difference, ſo he left it wholly to the jury, who brought in their verdict againſt him for high-treaſon ; whereupon ſentence of death was pronounced againſt him.

. While he lay under condemnation, he wrote a letter to the duke of York, dated July the ſixteenth, and delivered it to the duchefs of York by the lady Ruſſel : in which he declared, that the oppoſition he had made to his royal highneſs was not occaſioned by any perſonal ill-will, but merely by an opinion that it was the beſt method to preſerve the eſtabliſhed religion ; and if he was miſtaken, he had acted ſincerely, without having any ill end : and, as for any baſe deſign againſt the duke's perſon, he hoped he would do him the juſtice not to think him capable of ſo vile a thought. But that he was now reſolved, and did faithfully promiſe that if the king would pardon him, and if his royal highneſs would promote it with his intereſt, he would entirely deſiſt from his oppoſition, and would gladly conſent to live in any part of the world appointed by the king.

On the nineteenth of the ſame month, he wrote likewiſe a letter to the king, to be delivered after his death, as was done accordingly by his uncle colonel Ruſſel ; in which he obſerved that his chief buſineſs was humbly to aſk his majeſty's pardon for any thing he had either ſaid or done, which might look like want of reſpect to him, or of duty to his government ; in which, though he did to the laſt acquit himſelf of all deſigns againſt his perſon or government, and proteſted that he knew of no deſign then on foot againſt either, yet he did not deny but he had heard many things, and ſaid ſome things
inconſiſtent

inconsistent with his duty ; for which, as he had asked God's pardon, so he humbly begged his majesty's. And he took the liberty to add, that tho' he had met with hard measure, yet he forgave all concerned in it, from the highest to the lowest ; and prayed God to bless both his majesty's person and government, and that the public peace and true protestant religion might be preserved under him. He craved leave to end his days with this sincere protestation, that his heart had been ever devoted to that, which he thought was his majesty's true interest ; in which if he was mistaken, he hoped his majesty's displeasure against him would end with his life, and that no part of it would fall upon his wife and children.

He was beheaded in Lincoln's-inn-fields, on the twenty-first of July, 1683, and died with great piety and resignation. The paper which he left in the sheriff's hands, and in which he declared that he had never had any design against the king's life, or that of any man whatever, gave great offence to the court, and Dr. Burnet was particularly charged as the author of it. However, lady Russel vindicated him in a letter to the king.

Lord Russel was a man of great candour, and of a generous temper, and had given such proofs of undaunted courage and unshaken firmness, that no man of his age had so general a credit in the nation as he had,

An Account of the Proceedings against the Lords who were concerned in the Rebellion in 1715.

ON the first of August, the earl of Marr, secretary of state, in the reign of queen Anne, retired from court; and about the middle of the same month, assembled the friends of the pretender in Scotland, and formed an army. Among these were the earl of Nithisdale, the lord Kenmure, and some few others. The earl of Marr, on the third of September, proclaimed the pretender at Aboyn, in Aberdeenshire, by the name of James VIII. Mr. Forster, who had accepted the post of the pretender's general in England, assembled a body of malcontents in Northumberland on the sixth of September. About the nineteenth of October, the lord viscount Kenmure, the earls of Nithisdale, Carnwath, and Wintown, joined Mr. Forster with about two hundred horse from Scotland; and, on the twenty-fourth of the same month, brigadier Mackintosh joined Mr. Forster with a body of Scottish foot about ten miles from Berwick. Their whole number was computed to be two thousand five hundred when they marched into Lancashire; but it does not appear that they were more than one thousand five hundred after the engagement with the king's forces.

On the fourteenth of November, they surrendered to the king's army at Preston; and on the nineteenth of January following, James, earl of Derwentwater; William, lord Widdrington; William, earl of Nithisdale; Robert, earl of Carnwath

wath ; William, viscount Kenmure ; and William, lord Nairn, were impeached in parliament ; and on the tenth these lords were brought from the Tower to the house of peers ; and the articles of impeachment being read to them, they were allowed to the Monday following to put in their several answers. Afterwards the time was prolonged to the nineteenth, when they were all brought to the lords bar, and pleaded guilty, except the earl of Winton, who obtained further time to put in his answer.

On Thursday, the ninth of February, the lords being come down from their house to a court erected in Westminster-hall, a proclamation for silence was made : after which, his majesty's commission was read, all the peers standing uncovered. Then a proclamation was made for the lieutenant of the Tower to bring his prisoners to the bar ; whereupon James, earl of Derwentwater, and the rest of the lords above-named, were brought to the bar, the axe being carried before them, with the edge from them, by the gentleman goaler. Immediately after the articles of impeachment against them were read, to which they returned their several answers.

The earl of Derwentwater, who was the first, in his answer pleaded guilty, and threw himself upon his majesty's mercy, alledging that his taking arms was owing to youthful rashness, which made him, without deliberation, engage to meet at Plainfield in Northumberland, on assurance that many of his relations and acquaintance would appear there. He added, that the suddenness of his undertaking, appeared from his having engaged in it without any previous preparation of men, horses, arms, or other warlike accoutrements ; and also, that he had persuaded his friends at
Preston

Breton to a speedy surrender, in order to prevent the effusion of blood.

The earl of Nithisdale then put in his answer, in which he alledged, that, having been obliged to abscond, to avoid being confined in Edinburgh castle, several of the persons mentioned in the impeachment, with many other of his neighbours, appeared in arms very near the place where he lay concealed; whereupon he inconsiderately joined them, and proceeded in their company to the places in the said articles of impeachment mentioned; but he knew nothing of the intended insurrection till they were actually in arms.

The earl of Carnwath gave in no answer in writing, but desired to throw himself upon the king's mercy, and implored their intercession.

The viscount Kenmure gave in no written answer, but in like manner implored the intercession of the lords.

The lord Nairn also threw himself upon the king's mercy, but at the same time presented a petition to the lords spiritual and temporal; in which he declared that he knew nothing of any previous consultations or conspiracies in favour of the pretender, before he actually appeared in arms.

The house of commons having demanded judgment against the impeached lords, who had pleaded guilty, and the ninth of February being appointed for that solemnity, the lords came from their house to their court erected in Westminster-hall, where having taken their respective places, the lord William Cooper, lord-chancellor of England, sitting as lord-high-steward; James, earl of Derwentwater; William, lord Widdrington; William, earl of Nithisdale; Robert, earl of Carnwath; William, viscount Kenmure; and William, lord Nairn; were all brought to the bar by the deputy-governor

governor of the Tower, having the axe carried before them by the gentleman goaler, who stood with it on the left hand of the prisoners, with the edge turned from him.

The lord-high-steward having made a speech in answer to what was again alledged by the impeached lords in arrest of judgment, pronounced sentence against them to suffer as guilty of high-treason.

The writs for executing the said six lords being, on the eighteenth of February, delivered to the lieutenant of the Tower and the sheriffs of London and Middlesex, they petitioned both houses of parliament, on the twenty second of the same month, to intercede with his majesty in their behalf: and the lords presented an address accordingly. To which the king only answered, that on this, and all other occasions, he should do what he thought most consistent with the dignity of his crown and the safety of his people.

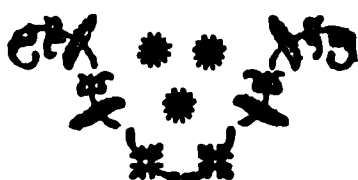
On the twenty-fourth of February, James, earl of Derwentwater, and William, viscount Kenmure, were brought to the scaffold on Tower-hill. The earl had such assurance given him of his life, that he was under some surprize: but the lord Kenmure seemed well prepared for the fatal stroke. The composure and serenity of his mind was admired by all that saw him.

The earl of Derwentwater having read a paper just before his execution, delivered it to the sheriff. Then running to the block, and finding a rough place, he bid the executioner chip it off. Then pulling off his coat and waistcoat, he lay down to fit his neck to the block, telling the executioner that the sign he should give him was, "Lord Jesus receive my soul;" and at the third time of repeating it he was to do his office: which he accordingly did at one blow.

The

The lord Kenmure was then brought to the scaffold. He made no other speech than that he was concerned that he had pleaded guilty. After which laying down his head upon the block, he raised it up again; and still continuing on his knees he gave the executioner some money, and told him he would give no sign, but when he laid down his head again, he might perform his office, as he saw good. Then having lifted up his hands a short time in prayer, he resolutely laid down his head, which at two blows was severed from his body.

The other lords, viz. Widdrington, the earl of Carnwath, and lord Nairn, were afterwards pardoned: but the earl of Nithisdale, the day before the execution of the lord Derwentwater, found means to make his escape out of the Tower, disguised in womens apparel, and was never heard of since.



T H E
L I F E A N D D E A T H
O F

Arthur, Lord Balmerino.

JOHN ELPHINSTON, fourth lord Balmerino, in the reign of queen Anne, was made general of her mint, and sheriff of the county of Edinburgh; and in the year 1713, was elected one of the sixteen peers to represent the peerage of Scotland in the parliament of Great-Britain. His second wife was daughter of Arthur Ross, archbishop of St. Andrew's, by whom he had two sons and one daughter. James, the eldest, succeeded him, and

Arthur, the melancholy subject of this relation. He was born at Leith, in August, 1688, and trained up, when young, at the high school in the same town. He made no great proficiency in other parts of learning, but wrote so excellent a hand, that he once, if not twice, won the gold pen, that was the prize of that scholar who wrote the fairest and best. While a boy he was remarkable and beloved for his affability and good nature, for he would converse with the same freedom with any poor man in the place, as with a gentleman of the highest rank; and would oftentimes pinch his own pocket, in its slender allowance, to do acts of charity to others. This benevolence of temper also shewed itself in that persons oftentimes who had any demands upon his father, would apply to
Mr. Arthur,



Mr. Arthur, and he seldom failed of bringing them their money.

He was of a robust constitution, active, and particularly dextrous in swimming. He used to go almost every day at high water to the great river, or rather a branch of the sea, that runs by the gardens of Sheriff Crane, off Leith, a mile from Edinburgh, and would frequently swim from thence through the harbour quite into the sea, as far as the land-mark, which is above a mile from the pier head; and being so well beloved, most of the people in the town would shew a great concern for him lest he should be drowned.

His brother, the late lord Balmerino, who was a man of stedfast revolution principles, obtained a commission for him under his late majesty king George I. and he had the command of a company when the last rebellion broke out in the year 1715, and behaved bravely at the battle of Sheriff-Muir: but before the battle, a great field-officer, having some suspicion of his loyalty, examined him thereon. He told his grace, he would be true to his trust, and that he should find himself deceived by his future behaviour; which was very true indeed, for no officer behaved more gallantly: but as soon as the battle was over, he went to the duke of Argyle, and told him, as he came off alive it saved him from perdition; for if he at that time had been killed, he should have died in a bad cause; and thereupon immediately delivered up his commission to his grace, begged to be excused from any farther service, and took leave in an handsome manner, going over to the side of the rebels. But when they were dispersed, he went into Denmark, where he continued till the general act of indemnity passed, from which he was not excepted.

About the year 1722, he went to Leith, when there was a regiment of soldiers in that town, and although he was there for above two months, so well was he beloved, that no man offered to lay hold on him, or so much as inform against him. He then returned to Denmark, and went to France; where it is supposed he laid some foundation for his late design, by the acquaintance he made there.

The lord Balmerino, his brother, having married a lady by whom he could expect no children on account of her age, that the estate might not go into another family, petitioned his present majesty to give leave for this Arthur to come home : and his majesty was so gracious as to pardon all his past offences, which is certainly a great aggravation of his late crime.

Upon his return, about nine years before his unhappy end, he married an agreeable young gentlewoman, Mrs. Margaret Chambers, daughter to John Chambers, esquire, of Clogger, about three miles from Leith, at whose house he lodged after his return to Scotland ; but he afterwards went to the house of one Mrs. Campbell. of Montonhall, near Musselborough, where he continued till he attended the young pretender in his late expedition. Upon hearing of which, his brother, the lord Balmerino, then yet living, was so exasperated, that he made over all his estate, by deed of assignment to----- Elphinston, esq- that no part of it might come to this gentleman, by whose behaviour it was not likely to continue long in the family.

The late lord Balmerino, who was a gentleman of great worth and honour, died but about a year and a half before his execution, so that the title came to the unfortunate and ill-judging gentleman who lately suffered for his rashness and folly.

We

We do not find much said of him, during the time of that unnatural rebellion, till he was taken prisoner by his majesty's troops under the command of his royal highness the duke, after the battle of Culloden, fought on the sixteenth of April, 1746.

He was brought to London, and committed prisoner to the Tower, with the earls of Kilmarnock and Cromertie, condemned with him. The lady Balmerino soon followed him, and taking lodgings in East-Smithfield to be near him, attended him constantly in his confinement.

On Monday, the twenty-third of July, 1746, the right honourable the lord chief justice Lee, the right honourable the lord chief justice Willes, sir Martin Wright, sir Thomas Abney, sir James Reynolds, and Mr. Baron Clive, came to the town-hall on St. Margaret's Hill, in Southwark, and opened their special commission for the trials of the rebels; when the lord chief justice of the king's bench gave a most learned and excellent charge to the grand inquest; who thereupon withdrew to the Three Tuns tavern on St. Margaret's Hill, and found bills for high-treason against William, earl of Kilmarnock, George, earl of Cromertie, and Arthur, lord Balmerino.

The three indictments against the lords being drawn up, a certiorari was awarded out of chancery to remove the indictments, in order to their trials by their peers; and before the return of that writ, his majesty was pleased to appoint Philip lord Hardwicke, the lord high chancellor, to be lord high steward for the trials of the said peers: and then the lord high Steward directed a precept under his seal to the commissioners, to certify the indictments were found, and on what day.

The same being certified by the commissioners in the special commission named, that the indictment

ment was found in Surry, the lord high steward moved the house, to know what day thoir lordships would try the rebel peers. Thereupon some debate arose in the house, whether these three peers could be tried by indictment, it being the first precedent; for the earl of Granville said, it was an innovation and infringement upon the privileges of the house of commons to impeach. But this debate soon ended, because there is an act of parliament, now in force, made in the 7th of William III. that says, “ Any peer, or peers, may be tried “ by indictment, as well as information.”

Then the house came to a resolution to proceed to the trials of the rebel peers, on Monday the twenty-eighth of July, 1746. A precept being accordingly directed to the lord Cornwallis, constable and lieutenant of the Tower, to bring the bodics of the prisoners that day to Westminster-hall, at eight o'clock in the morning they were carried thither in three coaches.

Upon the same day the lord high steward went in procession to Westminster-hall to try them.

The lords being seated on their benches, and the judges and masters in chancery below in their seats; the lord high steward making a reverence to the state, and saluting the peers, seated himself on the wooll-sack, as speaker of the house of lords.

The two clerks of the crown being ready at the clerks table, and the clerk of the crown in chancery, having the king's commission to his grace in his hand, both made three reverences to him, and at the third, coming before the wooll-sack, kneeled down, and the clerk of the crown in chancery, on his knee, presented the commission to his grace, who delivered it to the clerk of the crown in the king's bench, and they making three reverences, returned to the clerks table. The clerk of
the

the crown in the king's bench opened the commission and read it, having first directed his grace's serjeant at arms to make proclamation for silence, which he did with his mace upon his shoulder.

While the commission was reading, his grace and the lords stood up, all uncovered; after which his grace making obeisance, reseated himself, and then the garter and the black rod, with three reverences, jointly presented the white staff on their knees to his grace; and being fully invested in his office, he, with the white staff in his hand, removed from the wool-sack to the chair placed for him on an ascent before the throne, and sat down.

At Westminster-hall gate the prisoners were received by general Folliott, and the axe was carried before them with the edge from them.

Proclamation being made in the court for the lord-lieutenant of the Tower of London to return the precept to him directed, with the bodies of the prisoners: which done, the gentleman goaler of the Tower brought his prisoners to the bar; and the proclamation was made for the king's evidence to come forth, the king's counsel, Mr. premier serjeant Skinner, Mr. attorney, and solicitor general, sir John Strange, and sir Richard Lloyd, by his grace's direction, opened the indictment.

Then his grace moved the house, that he might advance forwards for the better hearing the evidence, and his chair was accordingly moved forwards into the court.

The earls of Kilmarnock and Cromertie both pleaded guilty: after which the lord Balmerino being brought to the bar, he pleaded Not Guilty; alledging, that he was not at Carlisle at the time specified in the indictment, being, when that city was taken, eleven miles from thence; and

to assault them. Hereupon they were at last obliged to deliver themselves up prisoners at mercy ; all the officers and gentlemen were led into the public hall of the town, where they were locked up, and a strong guard set upon them. They were required presently to send a list of their names to the general ; which they did ; and within a short time after, a guard was sent to bring sir Charles Lucas, sir George Lisle, and sir Bernard Gascoigne, to the general, who was then holding a council of war. They were carried in, and in a very short discourse told, that after so long and so obstinate a defence, until they found it necessary to deliver themselves up to mercy, it was necessary, for the example of others, and that the peace of the kingdom might no more be disturbed in that manner, that some military justice should be executed ; and therefore that council had determined they three should be presently shot to death ; for which they were advised to prepare themselves ; and, without considering or hearing what they had a mind to say for themselves, they were led into a yard thereby, where they found three files of musqueteers ready for their dispatch.

The execution being delayed till sir Bernard Gascoigne could write over to the duke of Florence, whose subject he was, the news of this barbarous resolution was brought to the prisoners in common, who were infinitely afflicted with it, and sir John Capel prevailed with an officer of their party to carry a letter, signed by the chief persons and officers, and in the name of the rest, to the general, in which they took notice of that resolution, and desired him either to forbear the execution of it, or that they might all, who were equally guilty with these three, undergo the same punishment with them. The letter was delivered,

1

1

1

Mr. Arthur, and he seldom failed of bringing them their money.

He was of a robust constitution, active, and particularly dextrous in swimming. He used to go almost every day at high water to the great river, or rather a branch of the sea, that runs by the gardens of Sheriff Crane, off Leith, a mile from Edinburgh, and would frequently swim from thence through the harbour quite into the sea, as far as the land-mark, which is above a mile from the pier head; and being so well beloved, most of the people in the town would shew a great concern for him lest he should be drowned.

His brother, the late lord Balmerino, who was a man of steadfast revolution principles, obtained a commission for him under his late majesty king George I. and he had the command of a company when the last rebellion broke out in the year 1715, and behaved bravely at the battle of Sheriff-Muir: but before the battle, a great field-officer, having some suspicion of his loyalty, examined him thereon. He told his grace, he would be true to his trust, and that he should find himself deceived by his future behaviour; which was very true indeed, for no officer behaved more gallantly: but as soon as the battle was over, he went to the duke of Argyll, and told him, as he came off alive it saved him from perdition; for if he at that time had been killed, he should have died in a bad cause; and thereupon immediately delivered up his commission to his grace, begged to be excused from any further service, and took leave in an handsome manner, going over to the side of the rebels. But when they were dispersed, he went into Denmark, where he continued till the general act of indemnity passed, from which he was not excepted.

We do not find much said of him, during the time of that unhappy rebellion, till he was taken prisoner by his majesty's troops under the command of his royal highness the duke, after the battle of Culloden, fought on the sixteenth of April, 1746.

He was brought to London, and committed prisoner to the Tower, with the earls of Kilmarnock and Cromertie, condemned with him. The lady Balmerino soon followed him, and taking lodgings in East Smithfield to be near him, attended him constantly in his confinement.

On Monday, the twenty-third of July, 1746, the right honourable the lord chief justice Lee, the right honourable the lord chief justice Willes, sir Martin Wright, sir Thomas Abney, sir James Reynolds, and Mr. Byron Clive, came to the town-hall on St. Margaret's Hill, in Southwark, and opened their special commission for the trials of the rebels; when the lord chief justice of the king's bench gave a most learned and excellent charge to the grand inquest; who thereupon withdrew to the Three Tuns tavern on St. Margaret's Hill, and found bills for high-treason against William, earl of Kilmarnock, George, earl of Cromertie, and Arthur, lord Balmerino.

The three indictments against the lords being drawn up, a certiorari was awarded out of chancery to remove the indictments, in order to their trials by their peers: and before the return of that writ, Henry Jekyll was pleased to appoint Philip lord Hardwick, the lord high chancellor, to be lord high steward for the trials of the said peers: and then the lord high steward directed a precept under his seal to the common law, to certify the indictments were to be tried on what day.

The matter being certified by the commissioners in the special commission named, that the indict-

then the king's council proceeded to call their witnesses to support the charge against the prisoner, four of whom were examined, and deposed as follows :

The first witness swore that he saw the lord Balmerino, the prisoner at the bar, ride into Carlisle on a bay horse, the day after it was taken by the rebels : that he saw him ride up to the market-place, with his sword drawn, at the head of his troop of horse, which was the second troop of the pretender's son's body guards, called Elphinston's horse.

Another witness proved, that he saw his lordship ride into Manchester at the head of his troop, and was there when the pretender's son was proclaimed regent ; and the said troop was the second troop of the pretender's body guard, and was called Elphinston's troop of horse.

Two other witnesses proved, That his lordship was called colonel of his troop ; that he acted always in that station, and gave orders on all occasions to his officers : and they farther deposed, that his lordship was in several places on the road where the rebels marched, at the head of his troop, and was in great esteem with the young pretender.

The prisoner asking neither of the evidences any questions, the council for the king here rested their proof.

Then his grace the lord high steward asked the prisoner, If he could offer any thing in his defence, or would call any witnesses who could invalidate what had been proved upon him by the witnesses on his majesty's behalf.

To which he replied, He was sorry that he had given their lordships so much trouble, and had nothing more to say, only that, as he was not at Carlisle

life at the time the rebels took possession of it, and the indictment charging him with being at Carlisle expressly at that time, he could not be guilty of that indictment.

A motion was then made by a noble peer, that the court might adjourn to the house of lords; which they did accordingly: and, after many debates there, they came to a resolution that the opinion of the learned judges should be taken on the point which the prisoner had objected to in regard to the indictment. Then the lord high steward and the lords being returned into the court in Westminster-hall, the point in question was put to the judges, who were all of opinion, that, as an overt-act of high-treason, and other acts of treason, had been proved beyond contradiction, there was no occasion to prove explicitly all that was laid in the indictment; so that the prisoner's objection was no way material, but that the indictment was a good indictment, and that so far of it had been proved as the law requires to convict any person of high-treason.

Then proclamation for silence was made, when the lord high steward, calling the peers by their names one by one, and beginning with the youngest baron, asked him,

Whether Arthur, lord Balmerino, was guilty of the high treason of which he stood indicted, or not guilty?

The baron standing up, uncovered, put his hand on his right breast, and said, "Guilty upon my honour."

All the rest of the peers declared the prisoner guilty of high-treason in the same manner.

After the prisoner had been found guilty of the indictment, the other two lords (the earls of Kilmarnock and Cromartie) were brought into court, and

and set to the bar with lord Balmerino ; when his grace the lord steward informed them, That if either of them had any thing to move in arrest of judgment, their lordships must come prepared the Wednesday following, at eleven of the clock in the morning, and lay their objections before the court, or judgment of death would be awarded against them.

After which they were carried back to the Tower in coaches, and the axe, which was in the coach with the lord Balmerino, had the edge towards him.

On Wednesday, the thirtieth of July, the lord Balmerino, with the other two prisoners, were brought again from the Tower into court; and the lord high steward came in the usual manner into Westminster-hall. The lords having taken their places, and the lord high steward being in the chair, before the throne, the prisoners were brought to the bar, and proclamation made for silence.

After which the lord high steward acquainted the earl of Kilmarnock, that, as he had thought proper to plead guilty to the indictment against him, he had thereby confessed the several crimes and treasons in the said indictment mentioned; and therefore he desired to know, what his lordship had to say, why judgment of death should not be passed on him.

The earl then addressing himself to the house, made a speech, which we shall give the reader when we come to the particular account of that lord.

When lord Balmerino was called upon to know what he could say, why judgment of death should not be awarded against him, according to law, his lordship, directing himself to the lord high steward, produced

produced a paper and desired it might be read. The lord high steward told his lordship, he was at liberty to read it if he pleased. But the prisoner replied, his voice was too low, and that he could not read it so well to be understood as he could wish. On which the lord high steward gave orders for one of the clerks of the parliament to go near the bar to the prisoner, and read the paper aloud; so that their lordships and the prisoner might hear the contents: and the clerk having received the paper, he read it standing just within the bar by the prisoner; which paper was to the following purport:

That the indictment was founded on an act of parliament made the last session, by which prisoners tried for high-treason, committed in the late rebellion, were to be tried in such county as his majesty should appoint: but that the treason, with which the prisoner is charged, is assigned to be committed at Carlisle, where he ought to have been indicted, and not in Surry, because the treason was committed before the passing of the said act; and therefore that the prisoner could not be affected by it; and consequently, that the whole superstructure built thereon must necessarily fall to the ground. The prisoner therefore prayed their lordships to assign him council to be heard on that head.

Then the earl Granville moved, that the lords would adjourn to their own house in order to consider of what the prisoner had offered.

The prisoners were then removed from the bar, and the lords went to their own house, where they debated the matter for about an hour and an half, and then returned to the court in Westminster-hall in the usual form; and being seated, the prisoners were again called to the bar, when the lord high steward asked the lord Balmerino, If he required

quired to have counsel to speak to the point which his lordship had before proposed, and the lord Balmerino answering, Yes, he did require it; then the lord high steward told his lordship, that he was ordered by the lords to acquaint him, that they agreed to his request, and desired him to name the council he would have them appoint for him. Upon which he named Mr. Wilbraham and Mr. Forrester: which the lord high steward told him the court agreed to, and appointed the Friday morning following, the first of August, to have the point argued, when the king's council would attend.

Then the prisoners were taken from the bar, and the court adjourned. The prisoners were carried back to the Tower, and the axe in the same manner as before.

On the first of August, the lord high steward being come down, and the lords being met in their own house, they went from thence in the usual form, to the court in Westminster-hall; where being seated, and proclamation made for the constable of the Tower to bring his prisoners to the bar, he brought them in accordingly.

Then the lord high steward asked the lord Balmerino, If he was ready by his council to argue the point which he had proposed to the court the Wednesday before? To which the lord Balmerino replied, That his council had advised him, that there was nothing in his objection sufficient to found an arrest of judgment upon; and therefore he withdrew it, and humbly craved their lordships pardon for giving them so much trouble; alledging, that he thought it was the duty of every Christian to preserve life as long as he could; and then submitted himself to the court.

The,

LORD BALMERINO.

The other two lords doing the same ; after clamation was made for silence, the lord high steward made a most eloquent speech, wherein he shewed the excellence and happiness of our present constitution, and the blessings we enjoy under his majesty's reign, who is a prince celebrated through the world for his mild and gracious government.

His grace then pronounced the judgment, which the law required, and which that high court awarded : viz.

“ THAT you, William earl of Kilmarnock, George earl of Cromertie, and Arthur lord Balmerino, and every of you, return to the prison of the Tower, from whence you came ; from thence you must be drawn to the place of execution ; when you come there, you must be hanged by the neck, but not till you are dead ; for you must be cut down alive ; then your bowels must be taken out, and burnt before your faces ; then your heads must be severed from your bodies, and your bodies must be divided each into four quarters ; and these must be at the king's disposal.

And God Almighty be merciful to your souls.”

Then the prisoners were taken from the bar, and the lord high steward standing up, he informed the lords that all the business was completed, which by his commission he was to execute ; and then his grace took the white rod in both his hands and broke it into two pieces, and declared his commission was at an end. He then asked the lords, if it was their pleasure to adjourn to the chamber of parliament ; which they agreeing to, they returned in the same order of procession in which they came, the state only excepted.

The

The LIFE and DEATH of the

the lords prisoners, after taking part of a cold
bath prepared for them, were conducted to their
chambers, the axe being now carried with the edge
towards them, as they proceeded to the Tower.
They still preserved their countenances, not betray-
ing the least signs of dejection, and the populace
behaved with much decency.

From the time that sentence passed upon him to
the time of his execution, lord Balmerino shewed
no tokens of fear, nor had he any hopes of a par-
don, for he said himself his case was desperate,
being a relapse, for he had been pardoned once be-
fore.

When his lady expressed a great concern for his
approaching fate, "Grieve not, my dear," said
he, "we must all die once, and this is but a few
years, very likely, before my death must have
happened some other way. Therefore wipe
away your tears, you may marry again, and get
a better husband."

His lady, whom he always called his Peggy, was
at dinner with him when the warrant came for his
execution; at which she being greatly concerned
rose up from table. "My dear Peggy," said he,
"sit down, for this shan't spoil my dinner. If the
king had given me mercy, I should have been
glad of it; but since it is otherwise, I am very
easy; for it is what I have expected, and therefore
it does not at all surprize me."

Some days before his execution, being asked in
what manner he would go to the scaffold? he an-
swered, He would go in the regimentals which he
wore when he was first taken; and that he would
have a woollen shirt next his skin which would
serve him as a shroud to be buried in. Being then
asked, why he would not have a new suit of
black? he replied, "It would be thought very
imprudent

“ imprudent in a man to repair an old house when
“ the lease of it was near expiring ;” for the lease of
his life would expire next Monday.

On Monday, the eighteenth of August, about
six in the morning, a thousand of the foot guards,
a troop of life-guards, and one of horse grenadiers,
marched through the city to Tower-hill to attend
the execution; and the same morning the two
sheriffs of Middlesex and London, with their offi-
cers, and the executioner, went from the Mitre
tavern in Fenchurch-street, to the house hired by
them on Tower-hill for the said lords.

At ten o'clock the block was fixed on the stage,
soon after their coffins were brought, covered with
black cloth, with gilt nails, &c. On that for the
earl of Kilmarnock was a plate with this inscription,
“ Gulielmus Comes de Kilmarnock, decollatus 18
“ Augusti, 1746, Ætat. suæ 42. with an earl's
coronet over it, and six coronets over the six han-
dles : and on that for lord Balmerino was a plate
with this inscription : “ Arthurus Dominus de Bal-
“ merino, decollatus 18 Augusti, 1746, Ætat.
“ suæ 58.” with a baron's coronet over it, and six
others over the handles.

At half an hour after ten the sheriffs went to the
Tower, and after knocking some time at the gate
they were admitted, and the prisoners, on their
giving a receipt, were delivered to them, the lieu-
tenant of the Tower saying, as is usual, “ God
“ bless king George.” To which the earl of Kil-
marnock assented by a bow, and lord Balmerino
said, “ God bless king James :” and soon after the
procession appeared in the following order : 1. The
constables of the Tower hamlets. 2. The knight
marshal's men and tipstaves. 3. The sheriff's offi-
cers. 4. The prisoners attended by their chap-
lains,

lains, and the two sheriffs. 5. The warders of the Tower. 6. A guard of musqueteers. 7. Two hearses and a mourning coach.

The two lords had met each other at the foot of the stairs, and embraced, when lord Balmerino greatly said to the other, “ My lord, I am heartily “ sorry to have your company in this expedition.”

When the procession had passed through the lines into the area of the circle, the passage was closed, and the horse that were in the rear of the foot on the lines wheeled off, and drew up five deep behind the foot, on the south side of the hill facing the scaffold. The lords were conducted to the house facing the entrance on the scaffold (the late transport office) and being put into separate apartments, their friends were admitted to see them.

About eleven o'clock, the lord Balmerino sent a message to the earl of Kilmarnock to desire an interview with him; which being consented to, my lord Balmerino, after addressing himself to the other, and thanking him for the favour of that conference, asked his lordship, If he knew of any order being made before the battle of Culloden for giving no quarter to the duke's army? at the same time declaring, That he himself knew nothing of any such order. To which the lord Kilmarnock replied, That he knew nothing of any such order, but that since the battle of Culloden he had been informed that there was some order to that effect, signed George Murray, and that it fell into the hands of the duke immediately after the battle.

These lords having saluted each other, lord Balmerino bade the lord Kilmarnock an eternal happy adieu; and with a cheerful countenance added, “ My dear Lord, I wish I could alone pay the reckoning, and suffer for us both.”

The

The earl of Kilmarnock was first carried out to his execution, during which time lord Balmerino conversed cheerfully with his friends, and twice refreshed himself with a bit of bread and a glass of wine, desiring the company to drink to him *aine degrae ta haiven*.

When the under sheriff went to give him notice that his time was come; "I suppose," said he, "My lord Kilmarnock is no more?" and having asked how the executioner had performed his duty, his lordship, upon receiving the account, said, "Then it was well done; and now, gentlemen, I will detain you no longer, for I desire not to protract my life." His lordship then saluted the company in a cheerful manner, and hastened to the scaffold, which he mounted with so undaunted a step as surprised every spectator, who was not acquainted with his great courage.

He appeared on the scaffold with the same regimentals he wore at the battle of Culloden, as he said he would; and so far was he from having the least concern himself at the fear of death, that he frequently reproved his friends that were about him for shewing any. His lordship walked round the scaffold, bowed to the people, read the inscription on his coffin, said it was right, and with seeming pleasure looked at the block, which he called his Pillow of Rest. He then pulled out his spectacles, and read a paper to the few about him, which he afterwards delivered to Mr. Sheriff Cockayne, and which was said to contain some justification of his own bad cause, and some reflections on the present happy establishment.

My lord then called for the executioner, who being introduced to him, was about to ask his lordship's pardon; but my lord stopped him, and said, "Friend, you need not ask me forgiveness,

“ the execution of your duty is commendable.” His lordship, presenting the executioner with three guineas, said, “ Friend, I never had much money, “ this is all I have, I wish it was more for your “ sake, and am sorry I can add nothing else to it “ but my coat and waistcoat ;” which he instantly took off and placed on his coffin.

He then prepared himself for the block by putting on a flannel waistcoat that had been made up for the occasion, and a plaid cap upon his head ; after which he went to the block, in order to shew the executioner the signal for the blow, which was the dropping down of his arms.

His lordship then returning to his friends, took his last farewell of them ; and having once more taken a view of the great number of spectators, said, “ I am afraid there are some who may think “ my behaviour bold :” and speaking to a gentleman near him, added, “ Remember, sir, what I “ tell you, It arises from a confidence in God and “ a clear conscience.”

My lord then observing the executioner with the axe in his hand, took it from him ; and having felt the edge, returned it him again, at the same time shewing him where to strike the blow, and animating him to do it with resolution ; “ For in that “ friend,” said he, “ will consist your mercy.”

His lordship then, with the same undaunted countenance, kneeled down at the block, and having his arms extended, said this short prayer,

“ O LORD, reward my friends, forgive my “ enemies, *****, and receive my soul ;”

submitted and gave the signal to the executioner ; but he was so terrified at his lordship's intrepidity, and the suddenness of the signal, that he was not
able

able to take his head off at the first blow, though it is to be hoped he deprived him of all sensation. After the first stroke, his lordship's head fell back upon his shoulders, and being afterwards severed at two more gentle blows, was received in a piece of red bays, and with his body deposited in his coffin, which being put into a hearse, was carried to the chapel of the Tower, and buried with lord Kilnarnock's, near the remains of the lord Tullibardin, who died a prisoner in the Tower some short time before.



THE
LIFE AND DEATH
OF

William, Earl of Kilmarnock.

WILLIAM BOYD, earl of Kilmarnock and lord of Bonda, was descended of a very ancient family, and takes his title of earl from a royal borough of that name in the shire of Cunningham.

William, the fourth earl of Kilmarnock, the youngest son of this nation, was son of William, the third earl of Kilmarnock, by Euphene, daughter of John, second son of William lord Rois. He was born in 1698, when his father died; but disappointed of the inheritance, and worthy the dignity of his father, he was left with leaving him too young to manage his own matter, and the inheritance was accordingly given to young noble-ment, who, by the natural brightness of his temper, was soon turned to a rigorous study, and had made some progress in the liberal sciences: but there was a great disposition, to which he was not applic-able, and he was therefore what is called a scholar without a scholar. He was a person of a very liberal and generous mind, and was very much attached to the principles of liberty, and was very much attached to the principles of liberty, and was very much attached to the principles of liberty.



they agreed to his request, and the council he would have them appear. Upon which he named Mr. Willoughby and Mr. Forrester: which the lord high steward told the court agreed to, and appointed the Friday morning following, the first of August, to be the point argued, when the king's council would attend.

Then the prisoners were taken from the bar, and the court adjourned. The prisoners were carried back to the Tower, and the axe in the same manner as before.

On the first of August, the lord high steward and his council came down, and the lords being met in their own house, they went from thence in the usual form, to the court in Westminster-hall; where being seated, and proclamation made for the coming of the prisoners, the lord high steward, as governor of the Tower to bring his prisoners to the bar, he brought them in accordingly.

Then the lord high steward asked the lord chancellor, if he was ready by his council to answer the point which he had proposed to the court.

LORD BALMERINO. 567

The other two lords doing the same; after proclamation was made for silence, the lord high steward made a most eloquent speech, wherein he shewed the excellence and happiness of our present constitution, and the blessings we enjoy under his majesty, who is a prince celebrated through the world for his mild and gracious government.

His grace then pronounced the judgment, which the law required, and which that high court awarded: viz.

“**THAT** you, William earl of Kilmarnock, George earl of Cromertie, and Arthur lord Balmerino, all of you, return to the prison of the Tower, from whence you came; from thence you must be carried to the place of execution; when you shall be hanged by the neck, but not so dead; for you must be cut down ere you are dead; your bowels must be taken out, and your faces; then your heads must be cut off your bodies, and your bodies must be cut into four quarters; and these must be sent to the four parts of the world.
“**God** Almighty be merciful to your souls.”

The prisoners were taken from the bar, and the lord steward standing up, he informed the lords that the business was completed, which by the king's command he was to execute; and then his majesty took the white rod in both his hands and broke it into two pieces, and declared his commission to be done. He then asked the lords, if it pleased them to adjourn to the chamber of parliament; when they agreeing to, they returned to the place of procession in which they came, the king only excepted.

The

568 The LIFE and DEATH of the

The lords prisoners, after taking part of a cold collation prepared for them, were conducted to their coaches, the axe being now carried with the edge towards them, as they proceeded to the Tower. They still preserved their countenances, not betraying the least signs of dejection, and the populace behaved with much decency.

From the time that sentence passed upon him to the time of his execution, lord Ralmerino shewed no tokens of fear, nor had he any hopes of a pardon, for he said himself his case was desperate, being a relapse, for he had been pardoned once before.

When his lady expressed a great concern for his approaching fate, "Grieve not, my dear," said he, "we must all die once, and this is but a few years, very likely, before my death must have happened in some other way. Therefore wipe away your tears, you may marry again, and get a better husband."

His lady, who he always called his Peggy, was at dinner with him when they were at court for his execution, a which he was very greatly concerned to inform her of. "My dear Peggy," said he, "be comforted, I am not a very young man. If the king should order me to die, I think I should have been glad to die, but as it is not so, I am very sorry to hear what I now expect, and therefore I am very much distressed."

Some time after he was again being asked in what manner he would prefer to die? he answered that he would prefer to die by the sword which he would not do, but that he would rather have a wooden block next his throat which would have been as a threat to be buried in. Being then asked why he would not have a new suit of black, he replied, "It would be thought very imprudent."

“ imprudent in a man to repair an old house when
“ the lease of it was near expiring ;” for the lease of
his life would expire next Monday.

On Monday, the eighteenth of August, about
fix in the morning, a thousand of the foot guards,
a troop of life-guards, and one of horse grenadiers,
marched through the city to Tower-hill to attend
the execution; and the same morning the two
sheriffs of Middlesex and London, with their offi-
cers, and the executioner, went from the Mitre
tavern in Fenchurch-street, to the house hired by
them on Tower-hill for the said lords.

At ten o'clock the block was fixed on the stage;
four after ten coffins were brought, covered with
black cloth, and gilt nails, &c. On that for the
earl of Kilmarnock was a plate with this inscription,
“ Gulielmus Comes de Kilmarnock, decollatus 18
“ Augusti, 1746, Aetat. sue 42. with an earl's
coronet over it, and six coronets over the six han-
dles; and on that for lord Balmerino was a plate
with this inscription: “ Arthurus Dominus de Bal-
“ merino, decollatus 18 Augusti, 1746, Aetat.
“ sue 48.” with a baron's coronet over it, and six
others for the handles.

At half an hour after ten the sheriff's went to the
Tower, and after knocking some time at the gate
they were admitted, and the prisoners, on their
coming a receipt, were delivered to them, the Lieu-
tenant of the Tower saying, as is usual, “ God
“ bless King George.” To which the earl of Kil-
marnock answered by a bow, and lord Balmerino
said, “ God bless King James!” and soon after the
procession appeared in the following order: 1. The
commanders of the Tower hamlets. 2. The knight
marshall's men and tipstaves. 3. The sheriff's offi-
cers. 4. The prisoners attended by their chap-
lains,

The Duke and Duchess of Albany
the Duke and Duchess of Albany
presented to the Duke and Duchess of Albany
to have your company in the carriage
When the Duke and Duchess of Albany
lines into the area of the Duke and Duchess of Albany
chief, and the Duke and Duchess of Albany
foot on the Duke and Duchess of Albany
behind the Duke and Duchess of Albany
the Duke and Duchess of Albany
hours from the entrance on the Duke and Duchess of Albany
transports officers and being put into separate apartments, their friends were admitted to see them
About eleven o'clock, the Lord Balmerino
message to the Earl of Adarnock to desire
interview with him, which being consented to
Lord Balmerino, after addressing himself
other, and thanking him for the favour
conferred, asked his lordship, if he knew
order he had made before the battle of Cull
having a quarter to the Duke's army? as
time of day. That he himself knew not
time of day. To whom the Lord K
could not say. When he

The earl of Kilmarnock was first carried out to his execution, during which time lord Palmerino conversed cheerfully with his friends, and twice refreshed himself with a bit of bread and a glass of wine, desiring the company to drink to him aine degree to be given.

When the under sheriff went to give him notice that his time was come; "I suppose," said he, "My lord Kilmarnock is no more?" and having asked how the executioner had performed his duty, his lordship, upon receiving the account, said, "Then it was well done; and now, gentlemen, I will detain you no longer, for I desire not to protract my life." His lordship then saluted the company in a cheerful manner, and hastened to the scaffold, which he mounted with so undaunted a step as surprised every spectator, who was not acquainted with his great courage.

He appeared on the scaffold with the same regimental dress worn at the battle of Culloden, as he had been wounded, and it was he then having the least concern himself of the fear of death, that he frequently reproved his friends, that were about him, for the same anxiety. His lordship walked round the scaffold, bowed to the people, read the inscription on his coffin, told it was right, and with seeming pleasure looked at the block, which he called his Pillow of Rest. He then pulled out his spectacles, and read a paper to the few about him, which he afterwards delivered to Mr. Sheriff Cockayne, and which was last of all a formal justification of his own bad cause, and some reflections on the present happy establishment.

After he had called for the executioner, who had been introduced to him, was about to ask his last wish; but my lord stopped him, and said, "Friend, you need not ask me forgiveness,

Vol. II.

P p

"the

and set to the bar with lord Balmerino; when his grace the lord steward informed them, That if either of them had any thing to move in arrest of judgment, their lordships must come prepared the Wednesday following, at eleven of the clock in the morning, and lay their objections before the court, or judgment of death would be awarded against them.

After which they were carried back to the Tower in coaches, and the axe, which was in the coach with the lord Balmerino, had the edge towards him.

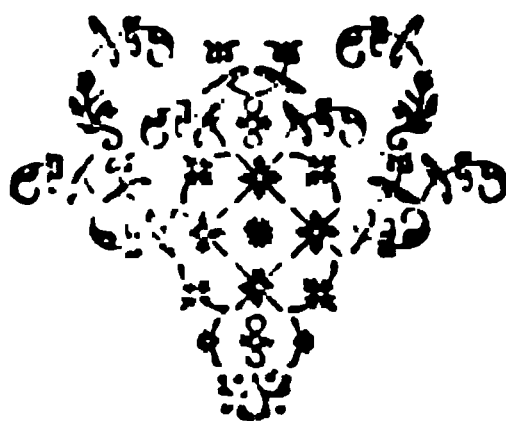
On Wednesday, the thirtieth of July, the lord Balmerino, with the other two prisoners, were brought again from the Tower into court; and the lord high steward came in the usual manner into Westminster-hall. The lords having taken their places, and the lord high steward being in the chair, before the throne, the prisoners were brought to the bar, and proclamation made for silence.

After which the lord high steward acquainted the earl of Kilmarnock, that, as he had thought proper to plead guilty to the indictment against him, he had thereby confessed the several crimes and treasons in the said indictment mentioned; and therefore he desired to know, what his lordship had to say, why judgment of death should not be passed on him.

The earl then addressing himself to the house, made a speech, which we shall give the reader when we come to the particular account of that day.

When lord Balmerino was called upon to know what he could say, why judgment of death should not be awarded against him, according to law, his lordship, addressing himself to the lord high steward, produced

able to take his head off at the first blow, though it is to be hoped he deprived him of all sensation. After the first stroke, his lordship's head fell back upon his shoulders, and being afterwards severed at two more gentle blows, was received in a piece of red bays, and with his body deposited in his coffin, which being put into a hearse, was carried to the chapel of the Tower, and buried with lord Kilmarnock's, near the remains of the lord Tullibardin, who died a prisoner in the Tower some short time before.



T H E
L I F E A N D D E A T H
O F

William, Earl of Kilmarnock.

WILLIAM BOYDE, earl of Kilmarnock and lord Boyde, was descended of a very ancient family, and takes his title of earl from a royal borough of that name in the shire of Cunningham. William, the fourth earl of Kilmarnock, the unhappy subject of this narration, was son of William, the third earl of Kilmarnock, by Euphene his wife, daughter to William lord Ross. He was but very young when his father died ; but discovered an early genius not unworthy the dignity of his birth : but his father's death leaving him too soon at liberty to be his own master, and the indulgence that is generally given to young noblemen, added to the natural sprightliness of his temper, soon gave him an aversion to a rigorous study of letters, though he had made some progress in classical learning, and had acquired some tolerable notion of philosophy and mathematics ; but there was too much of the volatile in his disposition, to continue long at exercises that required application : he was more happy in acquiring those which are called genteel accomplishments ; such as riding, fencing, dancing, and some music ; in all which he excelled, and was justly esteemed by men of taste, a polite gentleman.

W. B.



When he came to the estate, it was pretty much incumbered, and great part of the old patrimony alienated. The earl's disposition was by no means turned to improve it by parsimony; on the contrary, as his income was infinitely short of what the generosity, or rather the profuseness, of his temper would prompt him to spend, he soon found his affairs daily growing worse, and therefore thought of bettering his circumstances by an advantageous match. To this purpose he fixed his eyes upon lady Anne Livingston, daughter of James earl of Linlithgow and Callander, a young lady of considerable fortune, a great beauty, and every way accomplished to make the greatest prince happy. The earl made his addresses to the lady, but her friends, who knew the low ebb of his fortune, refused their consent: however, his lordship's agreeable person and genteel address, raised a friend for him in the generous lady's bosom, who is naturally an enemy to settlements, and other paternal cautions. In short, the young lady married him without her mother's consent, who was obliged to submit when there was no remedy.

His lordship, it is said, proved but ungrateful for the lady's generosity; and public fame strangely belied him if she had not too much cause to complain of his conduct: but as her ladyship had both a large share of spirit, wit, and good sense, they lived, if not happily, at least civilly together.

The earl's irregularities, added to the charge of a family, at length reduced his circumstances within such narrow limits, that finding it difficult to support himself with any tolerable decency, he applied to the British court for a pension, obtained it, and enjoyed it to the time of his entering into the late unnatural rebellion.

While the rebellion was in embryo, we find no footsteps of his lordship's being in the plot: on the contrary, before the battle of Preston-Pans, he bestirred himself in opposition to that party which he afterwards embraced. Several authors, who have given us accounts of this lord and his suffering, pretend that it was his lady that prevailed upon him to take this step, being, as they say, at Edinburgh when the young pretender entered that city, and charmed her with his military appearance and the affability with which he treated her and all the ladies; but this has been contradicted in such a manner, and at such a time, by his lordship, that we cannot help giving credit to what he said.

The defeat of general Cope at the battle of Preston-Pans, elevated the Jacobites to such a degree, that they esteemed it madness and infatuation in every body, who did not immediately join their standard. Among those who did, the earl of Kilmarnock was received by the young chevalier with great marks of esteem and distinction; was declared of his privy council, made colonel of the guards, and promoted to the degree of a general.

How this lord behaved in his new capacities of statesman and general, so foreign from his former manner of life, is clearly known but to few; but common report says, that he conducted himself with courage and resolution till the day of the battle of Culloden, when, foreseeing the fate of his party, he absented himself from his corps, and either confounded by his fears, or prompted by despair, he almost unaccountably fell into the hands of the king's troops, and rather surrendered himself than was taken prisoner.

EARL OF KILMARNOCK. 577

The earl of Kilmarnock, having been committed prisoner to the Tower of London with the earl of Cromertie and the lord Balmerino, was with them brought to his trial on Monday, the twenty-eighth of July, 1746, and pleaded guilty to his indictment.

On the Wednesday following, the lords prisoners being brought up again to Westminster, the lord high steward being seated on the chair before the throne, his grace, addressing himself to the earl of Kilmarnock, acquainted him that, as his lordship had thought proper to plead guilty to the indictment found against him, he had thereby confessed the several crimes and treasons with which he was therein charged; and therefore he now desired to know if he had any thing to offer, why sentence of death should not be passed upon him.

His lordship then addressing himself to his grace the lord high steward and the house, made a speech, in which he did not attempt to extenuate his crime, but entreated their lordships to intercede with his majesty for his royal clemency.

On Friday, August the first, his lordship being brought down, with the two other rebel lords, to Westminster, with them received sentence of death; after which he had nothing to do but to prepare for the final execution of it; in which melancholy business he was assisted by Mr. Foster, a dissenting minister, but who, by all parties, was allowed to be a gentleman of great learning and piety.

As the public will, in all probability, be curious to know what were lord Kilmarnock's sentiments concerning death, and the particular kind of death which he expected, in pursuance of his sentence, would be inflicted on him; Mr. Foster relates the substance of the discourses that passed between them

upon these great, and, to the generality of the world, most terrifying subjects.

On Monday, the eleventh of August, general Williamson desired Mr. Foster in the gentlest terms he could use, to let my lord know, that he had received the order for his and lord Balmerino's execution. Mr. Foster at first declined the ungrateful office, and told the general, that he was so shocked at it, that he could not think of delivering the message himself, but would endeavour to prepare the unfortunate lord, by divesting him, as far as he could, of all hope of life, for his informing him of it. And he intended to have gone no farther, but finding my lord in a resigned and calm temper, Mr. Foster told him, as general Williamson was coming up, that he would see the vast importance, nay, the absolute necessity, of attending seriously to what he had been saying about his diligent and constant preparation for death, by what, as he said, he apprehended he would soon hear.

Lord Kilmarnock immediately asked him if the warrant was come down for his execution? The other told him it was, and that the day fixed was the Monday following: and as upon this the general immediately came into the room, Mr. Foster acquainted him, that lord Kilmarnock knew already what he intended to inform him of.

My lord received this news with the outward behaviour of a man, that knew and felt the importance of the scene of death, but without any marks of disorder, without any unbecoming anxiousness or terror: and to establish and support him in his present quietude of mind, Mr. Foster told him, That all mankind were really under sentence of death, though they knew not the manner, or precise time, of its being executed; it might be to
any

any one, as soon, or sooner, than his own; that they not expecting it, nor having such timely and certain notice of it, might die wholly unguarded and unprepared; while he had warning, and the most awakening motives to fit himself, in the best manner possible, for this grand and decisive event.

My lord said, he had never been a libertine in principle, during all the time that he was most inconsiderate and licentious in his conduct; but had always firmly believed the great truths of God's being and providence, and a future state of rewards and punishments for virtue and vice, and that he had not been involved in the fashionable scepticism of the times with respect to Christianity; that he was therefore naturally concerned, and chiefly concerned, about the consequences of death, in comparison of which he thought the thing itself a trifle; that, as to the particular manner of his death, he thought he had no reason to be terrified, for that the stroke appeared to be scarce so much as the pain of drawing a tooth, or the first shock of the cold bath upon a weak and fearful temper.

When general Williamson, upon the Saturday preceding his execution, gave him a minute detail of all the circumstances of solemnity and outward terror that would accompany it; he heard it with as much shew of composure, as a man of a tender compassionate spirit would read the account of it, in an instance where he was not personally concerned. He was told that on Monday about ten in the morning, the sheriffs would come to demand the prisoners, who would be delivered to them at the gate of the Tower; that from thence, if their lordships thought proper, they should walk on foot to the house appointed on Tower-hill for their reception,

ception, where the rooms would be hung with black, to make the more decent and solemn appearance, and that the scaffold also would be hung with black cloth ; that his lordship might repose and prepare himself in the room fitted up for him, as long as he thought it convenient, remembering only, that the warrant for the execution was limited to, and consequently expired at, one o'clock ; that because of a complaint made by lord Kenmure, that the block was too low, it was ordered to be raised to the height of two feet ; that it might be the more firmly fixed, props would be placed directly under it, that the certainty or decency of the execution might not be obstructed by any concussion, or sudden jirk of the body.

All this lord Kilmarnock, without the least visible emotion, expressed his satisfaction in : but when the general told him, that two mourning hearses would be provided, and placed close by the scaffold, that when the head was struck off, the coffins might be soon taken out to receive the bodies, he said, that he thought it would be better for the coffins to be upon the scaffold ; for by that means the bodies would be still sooner removed out of sight.

Being farther informed, that an executioner was provided who would perform his work dexterously, and that he was a very good sort of man, my lord answered, “ General, this is one of the worst circumstances that you could have mentioned ; I cannot thoroughly like, for such business, your good sort of men ; for one of that character, I apprehend, must be a tender-hearted and compassionate man ; and a rougher and less sensible temper might be fitter to be employed.”

After this, lord Kilmarnock desired, that four persons might be appointed to receive the head, when

when it was severed from the body, in a red cloth, that it might not, as he had been informed was the case in some former executions, roll about the scaffold, and be thereby mangled and disfigured: for that though this was, in comparison, but a small circumstance, he was not willing that his body should appear with any unnecessary indecency after the just sentence of the law was satisfied.

Mr. Foster informs us, that when my lord was told, that his head would be held up to the multitude, and public proclamation made, that that was the head of a traitor; he replied, that this he knew to be usual on all such occasions, and spoke of it as a thing of no significance in the affair at all, and did not in the least affect him: and Mr. Foster said, he never heard, either before or after he was delivered into the custody of the sheriffs, that he intimated the least concern to have this part of the dismal ceremony dispensed with; and therefore it has greatly surprised some people that it should be omitted, and has occasioned some odd conjectures.

Mr. Ford, indeed, in his account of the execution of the two lords, says, it was at my lord's particular request, and that the law does not require it: but the first gentleman, Mr. Foster, says, that all lord Kilmarnock's friends, who attended him in his last moments, are ready to concur with him in making the same declaration, that they never expected it would have been so, and wondered at it.

To come to the conclusion of this dismal scene, his behaviour on the day of his execution, Mr. Foster attended him in the morning about eight o'clock, and found him in a most calm and happy temper, without any disturbance or confusion in his mind, and with apparent marks of ease and serenity in his aspect.

At my lord's desire, Mr. Foster made a short prayer with him ; soon after which general Williamson came to inform him, that the sheriff's waited for the prisoners. At receiving this awful summons to go to death, he was not in the least startled, but said calmly and graciously, " General, I am ready, I'll follow you." At the foot of the stairs he met and embraced lord Balmerino, as before mentioned in the account of that lord. From thence he walked with the usual formalities to the Tower-gate, and, after being delivered into the custody of the sheriff's, went to the house provided for the purpose, the late Transport-office, on Tower-hill, near the scaffold.

My lord Kilmarnock spent his retirement here in a manner suitable to his unhappy circumstances, Mr. Foster frequently comforting him with reasonable exhortations. His lordship in particular recommended it to the sheriff's observance that he declared himself a protestant, and thoroughly satisfied with the legality of his majesty, king George's, title to the throne of these realms ; that he himself was educated in these principles, and had constantly adhered to them, till after the breaking out of the rebellion, which he heartily repented of ever engaging in ; and that he prayed for the good of his country, and for the continuance of the crown in his majesty and his descendants till the latest posterity.

The time being now pretty far advanced, as was hinted to his lordship by the sheriff's desire, Mr. Foster told him that, after having taken a few minutes to compose himself, he thought it would be proper to allow him to pray with him, and then proceed to the scaffold. After this, Mr. Foster addressed himself to the spectators of this mournful scene, to join with him fervently in this last solemn

solemn office, and in recommending the soul of an unhappy person, who gave so many marks of his sincere penitence for the crime of his rebellion, to the mercy of God ; with which request they all readily complied.

Lord Kilmarnock had often protested, that he would, in his last moments; pray for his king and country ; therefore Mr. Foster, towards the conclusion of his prayer for him, offered up some petition to that purpose ; which my lord had before, in the Tower, expressed his entire satisfaction in.

After prayer was ended, lord Kilmarnock took his last farewell of the gentlemen who attended him in a very affectionate manner, and went out of the room, preceded by the sheriffs and accompanied by his friends. As he was stepping into the scaffold, notwithstanding the great pains he had taken to familiarize the outward apparatus of death to his mind, nature still recurred upon him ; so that being struck with such a variety of dreadful objects at once, the multitude, the block, his coffin, the executioner, the instrument of death, he turned about and said to Mr. Home, “ Home, “ this is terrible.”

Mr. Foster, having talked with his lordship a considerable time, to support him in his penitence and resignation, embraced him, and then left him in the same calm disposition, quitting the scaffold some minutes before his execution.

The executioner being introduced to him, asked his lordship forgiveness for the painful office assigned him ; which he very readily granted, and gave him a purse of gold, desiring him to have courage, and acquainted him that the signal for the stroke should be the dropping of a handkerchief.

Spectators

Spectators at a distance not knowing the true cause of the stroke's being retarded, ascribed it to pusillanimity : but that delay was owing to a few trivial circumstances which it is necessary to mention in his vindication. My lord's hair having been dressed in a bag, it took some time to undo and put up in his cap. The tucking his shirt under the waistcoat was the occasion of some farther small delay. But when these preliminaries were adjusted, his lordship took out a paper containing the heads of his devotion, went forward to his last stage and decently kneeled down at the block. Whether it was to support himself, or as a more convenient posture for devotion, he happened to lay his hands with his head upon the block ; which the executioner observing, prayed his lordship to let his hands fall down, least they should be mangled, or break the blow. Then he was told, that the neck of his waistcoat was in the way ; upon which he rose and had it taken off.

This done, and the neck made bare to the shoulders, he again kneeled down ; and what sufficiently shews, that he enjoyed full presence of mind to the last, Mr. Home's servant, who held the cloth to receive the head, heard him say to the executioner, that in two minutes he would give the signal,

This time he spent in most fervent devotion, as appeared by the motion of his hands and now and then of his head. Having then fixed his neck on the block, he gave the signal. His body remained without the least motion, except what was given it by the stroke of death, which he received full, and was thereby happily eased of all his pain.

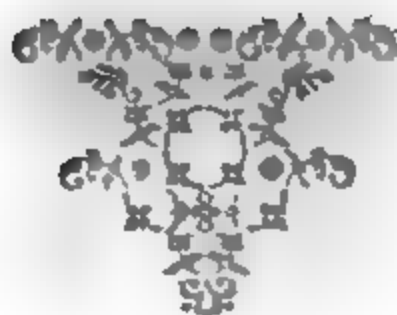
The head was received into a piece of scarlet cloth, and with the body deposited in a coffin.

Thus

EARL OF KILMARNOCK. 583

Thus deservedly fell, though humble and retiring, the late earl of Kilmarnock, a sacrifice to the justice of his country.

His person was tall and graceful; his countenance kind, and his complexion pale. He had abilities, if they had been properly applied, which might have rendered him capable of bringing an increase of honour to his family instead of ruin and disgrace.



T H E

T H E
L I F E A N D D E A T H
O F
SIMON LORD LOVAT.

SIMON FRASER was the second son of Thomas Frazer, of Beaufort, by a daughter of the laird of M'Leod; and consequently is descended, both by father and mother, from as ancient and as honourable families as any in the kingdom of Scotland.

He was born at Beaufort aforefaid, near Inverness, in the Highlands, in the year 1688. His father and his elder brother both dying while he was very young, the laird of M'Leod took upon him the care of his education, and, after some time spent at the grammar-school, sent him to King's college in the university of Aberdeen.

He was very far from distinguishing himself by a very strict application to his studies: on the contrary, in his junior years, he neglected books much more than he has done since, and was only careful to gain such a tincture of letters, as might preserve him from reproach amongst people of the same rank with himself, who in that country are seldom found to be deeply learned, and much seldomer absolutely ignorant: but if he was no close student, he applied himself diligently to his exercises, and was in those days thought to have the
address



address and manners of a gentleman on horseback and on foot.

About the year 1692, by the interest of the family of Athol, he procured a company in the lord Tullibardine's regiment, and he might possibly have risen to considerable commands in the army, if his family concerns had not put it out of his power to continue in a military course of life. The decease of Hugh lord Lovat, without heirs male, who was his father's eldest brother, gave him, as he thought, a legal claim to the title, but most unquestionably it did a right to be chief of the Frasers, which, as it was impossible a woman could execute, so by the law of reason, as well as the custom of the clans, she ought not to inherit: but Hugh lord Lovat, above-mentioned, who had married a daughter of the marquis of Athol, made a settlement to limit the honours and estate of Lovat to his eldest daughter, and the heirs of her body.

The misunderstanding arising between him and the marquis on this occasion, was the reason of captain Fraser's throwing up his commission. The marquis, in order to secure the possession of the honours and estate to his grandchild, had proposed to him, that he should convey and make over his right to the same to her, and in consideration thereof, the marquess engaged to promote him in the army; but the captain, with a noble indignation, rejected the proposal, and utterly refused to make such a renunciation, protesting that no consideration whatever should make him sell his birth-right, by which he was entitled to the estate of Lovat, and to be chief of the Frasers.

It is known to be the custom of Scotland, and more especially in the Highlands, for the next heir-male to marry the heiress; and this cannot appear strange to those who read the Old Testament, since

the like custom was established among the Jews, whose political constitution was pretty much the same with that which anciently and hitherto has prevailed among the clans. There was nothing extravagant or very extraordinary in captain Simon Frazer's pretending to the heiress of the deceased lord Lovat, and by marrying her to unite both their interests and claims.

To accomplish this, in the year 1694, he applied himself secretly to gain the young lady's favour, who was then about fifteen years of age, and lived with her mother, the lady dowager Lovat, at Castledowny, near Inverness. He made his sentiments known to the heiress, by the means of one Frazer of Tenechiel; and gained so much upon her affection, that she consented to marry him privately without the consent of her friends. In order to this, she left her mother's house one morning, with great secrecy, attended only by Tenechiel, her and the captain's confident in the intrigue. But before they had gone far, Tenechiel repenting of what he had undertaken, and perhaps dreading the resentment of the young lady's powerful relations, or thinking to make a merit of so important a discovery, carried her back again to her mother, and disclosed the whole affair.

The disappointment of the lovers, and the sorrow and despair of captain Frazer, is more easily to be imagined than described.

This attempt upon the heiress of Lovat, alarming the family of Athol, they thought it not safe for her to remain any longer in that part of the country, and therefore ordered her to be sent, under a proper escort to Dunkeld, the marquess's seat, which was accordingly done; and the marquess, from that time, began to think of marrying her into some great family, and thereby blast the
hopes

hopes of the captain, and prevent the honours and estate ever coming to his possession. For this purpose a match was proposed between her and the master of Salton, eldest son of lord Salton, which is a distinct family of the Frasers. Lord Salton embraced this proposal very cheerfully, thinking such an alliance very advantageous and honourable to his family.

The original design of the lord, by whom this affair was contrived and conducted, was to have had the marriage celebrated at the family seat of the Frasers, Castledowny, where the lady-dowager Lovat resided; and thither lord Salton, his son, the intended bridegroom, accompanied by lord Mungo Murray, a younger son of the marquis of Athol, were going, when captain Simon Fraser stopped them in their journey, and brought them prisoners to that very place into which they were to have entered in triumph. When he had them there, he expostulated the matter with lord Salton, and shewed him so plainly the nature of his own title to be chief of the Lovat tribe of Frasers, that he readily relinquished the match. If the young lady had been there, this stroke would have been decisive; but as she was not, and the lady-dowager Lovat was a very agreeable woman, and exceedingly beloved by the clan, captain Fraser made his addresses to her, in which he prevailed; and though he had a guard about the house, and some other circumstances gave this marriage an air of force; yet, such was the affection of that lady to him, that when, by the power of her family he was driven out of the Frasers country, and forced to fly for his life, she was not only the companion of his dangers and misfortunes, but, in the midst of those difficulties, insisted upon a second solemnization of the marriage, which at her desire was

complied with : but the kindness of the lady was not greater than the hatred of her family. They pursued captain Frazer with implacable steadiness, exerted against him the weight of their power, which drove him to rocks and caves for shelter, and employed at the same time the weight of their influence by which they procured a sentence of the court of justiciary against him for a rape. They pursued him likewise as guilty of high treason in levying war ; and to support these dreadful sentences in both cases, they procured an order for a party of dragoons, commanded by lieutenant Robert Campbell, to put the law in execution with respect to his house and estate at Beaufort, which that gentleman, with great reluctance, did.

Thus captain Frazer became an enemy to the government in construction of law, which drove him from his country, friends and wife ; but, on a representation to king William, of glorious memory, a remission was granted to him as to the treason, but the judgment as to the rape remained in full force ; so that he had a pardon for the greater crime, with non obstante to be hanged for the less offence : which he avoided by keeping out of the reach of his enemies as well as he could ; and when it was found impracticable for him to remain either in Scotland or England, he was compelled to fly to the only place where he was sure of protection ; and this carried him to the court of St. Germain's ; so that by the Jacobite interest in Scotland, he was driven to act the part of a Jacobite himself ; and this, we are told by his friends, was the true and plain state of his first application to the exiled family, by whom he was immediately received in the character and quality of lord Lovat, and chief of the Frasers.

The

The first thing he did, was to open the eyes of the French ministers with respect to the posture of affairs in Scotland, which was a very difficult thing to do, since they were at that time so perplexed that neither the French nor English court knew what to make of them. He shewed them clearly that, with regard to the family at St. Germain's, the clans only were to be depended upon, for that the other parties in Scotland sought merely their own interest, and were for any court in which they could be uppermost.

It was in consequence of the lights he gave them, that the French ministers came to change their notions with respect to persons and things ; and whatever sentiments they might entertain of the sincerity of his attachment to the family in France, they were convinced that he did not deceive them in the accounts he gave ; and therefore, notwithstanding all that was said by the earl of Middleton and his creatures, they continued to employ him ; and he had likewise a share in the favour of queen Mary, who having been herself in Scotland, when duchess of York, had truer notions of things than some of her Scotch ministers could have wished she had, because it led to disapprove several of those schemes in which they were most sanguine.

Captain Frazer was honoured with a commission, some say that of a colonel of foot,, others a major-general's, and furnished with powers and credentials to treat with the noblemen and gentlemen in Scotland, who were attached to that interest, and particularly the chiefs of the clans. He was likewise provided with some arms and ammunition, and with a sum of money from the court of France.

Mr. Lockhart, of Carnwarth, in his *Memoirs*, treats this matter as a sham plot, trumped up by the duke of Queensbury and his party, and charged upon the marquess of Athol and the Tory party, in order to furnish a pretence to ruin and oppress them.

Simon Frazer knew exactly the situation of things; and the characters and measures of all the great men in both kingdoms; and this enabled him to play them one against another, and to avail himself of them all. He had proposed to the court of France to depend upon the Highlanders, and the Highlanders only. He knew very well the confidence the court of St. Germain's had in the dukes of Hamilton and Athol, and other great men in Scotland, and knew that some of the queen's ministers corresponded with the court of St. Germain's; and made both Perth and Middleton believe, that they would prepare every thing, in case of the queen's death, for a change to their liking; and he also knew that they intended no such thing, but practised this artifice with a view to prevent their contriving plots and conspiracies during the war.

Upon his coming down to Scotland, he offered the earl of Leven and the duke of Argyle, to do service to the government; and by this means he procured admittance to, and a pass from, the duke of Queensbury. But before he did this, he had tried, by the interposition of the Murrays, to reconcile himself to the Athol family; but found it impossible, and that they were bent to destroy him if they could.

He therefore thought himself at full liberty to talk of their intrigues and correspondences to the duke of Queensbury; but this could not be
called

called, betraying them, because they never trusted him. They acted upon a different plan, and whether they really intended to serve either one court or the other, was a secret then, and will so remain, to the end of time. But it was no secret to him, that they hated the duke of Queensbury, and the duke of Queensbury them; and therefore he knew, that offering to find out their correspondences, would recommend him to his grace. But he never communicated to the duke one word of his secret commission, or of his message to the clans, so that he did not betray those that trusted him, nor the scheme with which he was trusted.

Upon the return of captain Fraser to France, and the court of St. Germain's, where, by the way, he was always called and considered as lord Lovat. He found his interest much sunk; the clamour from England and Scotland had got over thither before him, and, notwithstanding all he could say, and all that he had done, there was no such thing as making people there believe that he had not betrayed the royalists, as they called them in Scotland: but this would not have given him much pain, if the French ministers had not conceived amiss of him; but they finding that the very paper he had given them, concerning the strength of the clans, with the remarks of the earl of Cromertie upon it, had been produced to the English parliament, concluded that he must have betrayed them, though the fact really was, that he gave this paper originally to sir John M'Lean, in order to engage him to introduce him to queen Mary; and sir John being very unluckily taken into custody, upon his going over to take the benefit of the indemnity, and being examined as to his knowledge of captain Fraser, owned every thing and delivered up this paper.

Lord Lovat was however soon delivered from the persecution he had been under from the time of his return into France. The ministry of Versailles were convinced, they had injured him, and that they never had received any just or certain accounts of that country but from him; and therefore, though they might be civil to some of the Scotch correspondents of the court of St. Germain's afterwards, yet they never depended upon them: and the duke of Berwick plainly declared, that there was no relying upon, or trusting to the professions, of those great men who were lord Lovat's capital enemies; so that his credit rose in proportion as theirs declined; but, except being freed from the unjust suspicions of the French court, lord Lovat reaped little benefit from this change; for the ministry, having now no farther views upon Scotland, took very little care of any of that nation; so that he was driven to very hard shifts for a subsistence, notwithstanding he had access to the greatest men in that kingdom, and was, to outward appearance, very well received by them; and of this he had sense enough to make a right use, without flattering himself with imaginary hopes, or entertaining false expectations, as was the case with the rest of his countrymen, who still pleaded themselves with notions, that the Grand Monarque would never desert them; whereas he and his ministers looked upon the desertion to be on their side, and had entered into a new system with respect to the interest of the exiled family, which, though it wore a fairer appearance, proved as delusive as the former, and ended at last in establishing an opinion in the French court, that all projects in favour of that family were idle and chimerical, farther than as they served to amuse the ministry in England, and to keep alive the factions and parties

parties in Great Britain, in maintaining of which the French still hoped to find their account.

Lord Lovat was afterwards restored to favour, and pardoned for his loyalty and services in the rebellion in 15; after which he made his first public appearance at Edinburgh in the year 1717. About the same year his lordship intermarried with a daughter of the laird of Grant, sister to the present sir James Grant, bart. intending to add to his power and interest by an alliance with so potent and numerous a clan. Of this marriage are issue two sons and two daughters.

Upon the decease of this lady, his lordship married a young lady nearly related to the noble family of Argyle, by whom he had a son named Archibald: but his cruel and unworthy usage of that lady, which has for ever occasioned a separation between them, instead of uniting himself more firmly to that great family, as he intended, has justly drawn upon him their resentment and contempt.

About the year 1737, lord Lovat became greatly suspected of some treasonable designs: and an information was given to one of the secretaries of states, that his lordship, under pretence of providing arms for his independent company, had bought up a considerable number of fire-arms, broad-swords and targets.

This was represented to a certain great man at court, who thereupon wrote to lord Lovat upon that head, desiring from him an account of the truth of these matters, and that he would satisfy the government with respect to the charge: and the more effectually to quiet the apprehension that some people had entertained of his conduct, and as it was generally reported that his lordship proposed

send his sons to France for their education, he advised his lordship to send them up to London; and to encourage him thereto, this great man offered to have a particular regard in their education, and undertook to be at the expence thereof out of his own pocket: such was this nobleman's generous care and concern to preserve this family from destruction: but our lord was deaf to his counsels and friendly admonition, and contented himself with sending him long letters in his own vindication, stuffed with shuffling evasions and flattering speeches, and boasting of the great services he had done in the year 1715, which he pretended ought to free him from any false imputation of disloyalty.

Lord Lovat was certainly under great obligations to the government for the fortunate turn in his affairs after the year 1715. His late majesty frequently heaped favours upon him; made him lord-lieutenant of the county and governor of Inverness, gave him a pension, and the command of a Highland independent company, there being several of those companies raised after the rebellion to preserve the peace in the Highlands.

The king knew my lord's character, and that he appeared in arms against the rebels purely to serve himself: and therefore his majesty resolved, if possible, by loading him with favours, to let him see, that his chief interest lay in serving the government faithfully. This was good policy, and had a late ministry thought proper so far to comply with this dangerous man, as even to continue him in the enjoyment of those gratifications which the late king thought proper to bestow upon him, the rebellion, in all probability, would never have been carried to such a height as it was; for he, with his
own

own clan, could have crushed it in its infancy. But in the year 1738, his lordship having voted contrary to the directions of the ministry, although the candidate he voted for was in the court interest, they took away his pension, stript him of his command, and deprived him of every mark of the government's favour.

It was not long before his lordship shewed his disgust after the court favour was withdrawn from him: and, his conversation plainly discovered, that he only wanted an opportunity to break out into rebellion. Not long after the battle of Preston-Pans, the Frasers, to the number of five hundred, were assembled, and armed, and sent to join the rebels at Perth.

A report was current about this time, and generally believed, that his lordship made an offer to a certain great man at court, that if twenty-five thousand pounds was put into his hands, to be distributed among the chiefs of the clans, he would engage that that part of the country should be kept quiet, and the Highlanders obliged to assist the king's forces.

His proposal, however, was rejected with disdain, and his designs suspected; and so he was reduced to a sort of necessity of engaging in support of the pretender, whose cause, about forty years before, he had notoriously betrayed, and strenuously opposed in the year 1715; and therefore could not now expect any great confidence from that party.

The lord-president, who, since the breaking out of the insurrection in Scotland, was exceeding active and vigilant in the service of the government, out of a sincere concern for the lord Lovat, wrote him a letter, expressing his unfeigned friendship for his
lordship;

lordship; but at the same time intimated, that he was not unacquainted with his secret and disloyal practices, entreating him to relinquish an enterprize, the certain and unavoidable consequence of which would be ruin and destruction to himself and family.

It was in vain to think of reclaiming his lordship, for he still continued more daring and open in his proceedings; which determined the earl of Loudon, who was then at Inverness, to put a stop thereto. He marched with some hundreds of his men to Castledowny, and sent lord Lovat a message, in the king's name, to attend him to Inverness, and deliver up what arms he had in possession. My lord not finding himself in a condition to resist, submitted to go along with lord Loudon, and remain at Inverness as a security for his peaceable behaviour; and accordingly staid there for some days; but, upon some sham pretence or other, delayed to perform his promise, as to delivering up the arms; and notwithstanding he was strictly watched, and centinels placed at his lodgings, yet he found means to break through the back part of the house in the night-time, and made his escape. After which, it was said, he was very instrumental in fomenting and carrying on the rebellion, by rousing and arming the Highlanders, and alarming them with fears of being extirpated and destroyed by the king's troops with fire and sword, and persuading them there were no other means left for their preservation, but by having recourse to arms to defend their lives, properties, and families, from the rapine and violence of their enemies.

In order to enforce this matter, it is reported, that he published a declaration, or manifesto, which he caused to be publicly read in the kirks on a Sunday,

day. His son was at the head of the Frasers, at the famous battle of Culloden-house, where they behaved with their usual courage and resolution.

The pretender's son, after his defeat, the same night fled to Lovat's house, and finding his lordship at home in his bedchamber, he burst into tears, and said, "My good lord, we are undone ;
" my heart bleeds for poor Scotland ;" and without adding more, he fell down upon the bed in a swoon.

The next day his lordship and his guest retired to a mountainous and woody country called Glenstrafarrar, where his lordship remained for some time upon the summit of the Capillach, being an extraordinary high mountain, from which there is a prospect of all the country round for many miles, great part of which belonged to his lordship's estate. Here he, with three hundred of his Frasers that escaped from the battle, observed the motions of the king's troops, and perceived a body of about eight hundred march to his seat at Castle-downy, which he had the mortification to see demolished and burnt down to the ground. He thereupon addressed his sorrowful clan with these words :
" Now, gentlemen, you see my predictions, that
" our enemies would destroy us with fire and
" sword, prove true, they have begun with me,
" and will not make an end before they have laid
" waste, ravaged and burnt our unhappy country."

His Frasers hereupon, fired with rage and indignation, vowed that they would rush down and attack the villains who had acted such a piece of cruelty and indignity against their chief ; and resolved that in revenging the same they would die gloriously, asserting the cause of liberty and their much injured lord ; but he with tears and intreaties restrained

strained their furious and desperate purpose, and conjured them to preserve their lives, and wait for a more seasonable opportunity of retaliating their unspeakable affronts and wrongs, and the outrageous and lawless violence that was then done him by burning and demolishing his house.

About the fifth or sixth of June, his lordship was taken and carried, by some of his majesty's troops, to Fort William. From whence he wrote the following letter to his royal highness the duke, at his camp at Fort Augustus :

“ S I R,

“ THIS letter is most humbly addressed to your royal highness by the very unfortunate Simon lord Fraser of Lovat. I durst not presume to solicit, or petition, your royal highness for any favour, if it was not very well known to the best people in this country attached to the government, such as the lord-president, and by those that frequented the court at that time, that I did more essential service to your royal family in suppressing the great rebellion in the year 1715, with the hazard of my life, and the loss of my only brother, than any of my rank in Scotland; for which I had three letters of thanks from my royal master, by the earl of Stanhope, then secretary of state; in which his majesty strongly promised to give me such marks of his favour as should oblige all the country to be faithful to him: therefore the gracious king was as good as his word to me; for as soon as he arrived at court, and was introduced to the king by the late duke of Argyle, I became, by degrees to be as great a favourite as any Scotman about the court; and I often carried your royal highness

highness in my arms in the parks of Kensington and Hampton-court, to hold you up to your royal grandfather, that he might embrace you, for he was very fond of you and the young princesses:

“ Now, sir, all that I have to say in my present circumstances, is, that your royal highness will be pleased to extend your goodness towards me, in a generous and compassionate manner, in my present deplorable situation; and, if I have the honour to kiss your royal highness’s hand, I would easily demonstrate to you, that I can do more service to the king and government, than the destroying an hundred such old and very infirm men like me, passed seventy, without the least use of my hands, legs, or knees, can be of advantage, in any shape, to the government.

“ Your royal father, our present sovereign, was very kind to me in the year 1715. I presented on my knees to his majesty a petition in favour of the laird of Mac-Intosh, to obtain a protection for him; which he granted me, and gave it to Charles Cathcart, then groom of his bedchamber, and ordered him to deliver it into my hands, that I might give it to the laird of Mac-Intosh. This was but one testimony of several marks of goodness his majesty was pleased to bestow on me while the king was at Hanover; so I hope I shall feel, that the same compassionate blood runs in your royal highness’s veins.

“ Major-general Cambel told me, that he had the honour to acquaint your royal highness, that he was sending me to Fort-William, and that he begged of your royal highness to order a litter to be made for me to carry me to Fort-Augustus, as I am in such a condition that I am not able to stand, walk, nor ride.

“ I am,

“ I am, with the utmost submission, and most profound respect,

“ S I R,

“ Your Royal Highness's

“ Most obedient, and

“ Most faithful servant,

“ L O V A T.”

On Sunday the fifteenth of June, his lordship was brought prisoner to Fort Augustus, in his horse-litter, with about fifty rebels more. He had been taken by captain Ferguson of the Furnace bomb, in a boat attempting to get on board a ship. Others say, the said captain took him in a trunk of a tree, where he had the mortification to live twelve days on oatmeal and water, although he had five or six hundred guineas in his pockets. Another mortification it must have been to the old man, that when he was brought to the camp at Fort-Augustus, the sutlers, and all the followers of the army, received him with hisses.

On the fifteenth of July, his lordship was conveyed to Stirling under a strong guard, where he was received by a detachment of lord Mark Ker's dragoons, under the command of major Gardiner. From Stirling, after a few days rest, he proceeded to Edinburgh; on his way to London. From thence he went on to Berwick, and on the twenty-fifth proceeded on his journey, being escorted by major Gardiner and sixty dragoons. His journey from thence to London was divided into twenty stages, and he was to travel one stage a day.

When he came to the Tower, he was received by general Williamson, lieutenant-governor of the place, who conducted him to the apartment appointed for his reception; but being very feeble,
both

both in his hands and legs, some of the wardens were forced to assist him from the coach to his room, where being seated in an elbow chair, and having taken somewhat to refresh him, he could not forbear uttering some reflections on the hardship of his fate.

He was soon after condemned and executed, and his behaviour was equally resolute and decent.

We shall not give a particular account of the circumstances attending his execution, as that would require a repetition of several particulars which we have had occasion to mention already.



T H E
L I F E A N D D E A T H
O F

Charles Ratcliffe, Esq.

THIS unfortunate gentleman was the youngest brother of James earl of Derwentwater, who was executed in 1716.

They were sons of sir Francis Ratcliffe, by lady Mary Tudor, natural daughter to king Charles II. by Mrs. Mary Davis. He was with his brother taken at Preston, tried, convicted and condemned; but several times respited, and probably would have been pardoned, had he not, with thirteen others, made his escape out of a room called the Castle, in Newgate, through a little door which had been left open by accident. This door led to the master-side debtors, where the turnkey, not knowing Ratcliffe and his companions, let them out of the prison, supposing they were persons who had come in to see their friends.

He immediately went over to France, and from thence followed the pretender to Rome, subsisting on such a petty pension as his master could allow him; but returning some time after to Paris, he married the relict of Livingston, lord Newbrough, by whom he had a son.

In 1733, he came to England, and resided some time at Mr. John's, in Pallmall, without any molestation, though it was known to the ministry.

He



He returned to France, and came back again to England in 1735, and solicited his pardon, but without success, though he appeared publicly and visited several families in Essex. Returning again to France, he accepted of the French king's commission, to act as an officer in the late rebellion; and embarking with his son, and several other Scotch and Irish officers on board the *Esperance* privateer, for Scotland, was taken by his majesty's ship the *Sheerness*; and when he landed at Deal, was very arrogant to the king's officers, till they told him, they intended to use him like a gentleman; but he was going to put it out of their power.

On Friday the twenty-first of November, he was brought under a strong guard, in a coach, from the Tower to the court of King's-bench in Westminster-hall, to be arraigned on his sentence in the year 1716, when he escaped out of Newgate. He pleaded that he was a subject to the king of France, in which country he had resided about thirty years, and had his commission; and that he was not Charles Ratcliffe; meaning, that he was earl of Derwentwater. Then a jury was ordered to be impannelled, by which he was proved to be the identical person.

On Saturday, the twenty-second of November, Mr. Ratcliffe being brought up to the bar of the court of King's-bench, was again arraigned, but refused to hold up his hand, or acknowledge any jurisdiction but that of the king of France, insisting on a commission he had in his pocket from the French king; but on hearing his former indictment and conviction read to him in English, he said he was not the Charles Ratcliffe therein mentioned, but the earl of Derwentwater; and his council informed the court, that this was the plea he relied

on: to which the attorney-general replied, with an averment of his being the same Charles Ratcliffe, and thereupon issue was joined.

Then the council for the prisoner moved to have his trial put off upon his affidavit that two of his material witnesses were out of the way. This the court refused to grant, except the prisoner would swear an affidavit, that he was not the identical Charles Ratcliffe; which he declining to do, the court was called, and, after two or three of the witnesses had been sworn, Mr. Ratcliffe challenged the first witness who was called, as of right, without assigning any reason; but, upon debate of the question, how far he had right to challenge, the court said, it had been determined before, in all the later cases, that the prisoner, in such a case as this, had no peremptory challenge: upon which the rest of the jury were sworn, and after a clear evidence of the identity of the person, on the part of the crown, the jury withdrew about ten minutes and then found their verdict, That he was the same Charles Ratcliffe, who was convicted of treason in 1715.

Then the attorney-general moved to have execution awarded against him on his former judgment; to which the prisoner's council objected, tendering a plea of pardon by act of parliament in bar of execution. But the court said, as he had already pleaded such a plea as he chose to rely on, and as that was found against him, nothing more remained for them to do at present, but to award execution; and if his council had any thing to offer in his behalf, they would have time to do it before the day of execution; and ordered a rule to be made for the proper writs for his execution on the eighth of the next month, and remanded the prisoner back to the Tower.

Edw

His design in stiling himself earl of Derwent-water, was, that he might pass for Francis, his younger brother, who went to France before 1715, and there died. He would not call the lord-chief-justice lord, because the title of earl was not given him. He refused to hold up his hand at the bar ; and being told, that his own council would ratify him that it was only a form of the court, he said, “ I know many things that I will not advise “ with my council upon.” On hearing the rule for his execution, he desired time, because he and lord Moreton, in the bastile at Paris, should take the same journey at the same time.

On Monday, the eighth of December, 1746, he was beheaded on Tower-hill. At about eleven o'clock, the sheriffs, Mr. alderman Winterbottom and Mr. alderman Alsop, with their officers, came to see if the scaffold was finished, and if every thing was prepared for Mr. Ratcliffe's reception ; which being to their satisfaction, they went to the Tower, and demanded the body of Mr. Ratcliffe, of general Williamson, deputy-governor. Upon being surrendered, he was first put in a landau and carried over the wharf, at the end of which he was put into a mourning coach, and conveyed into a small booth, joining to the stairs of the scaffold, lined with black, where he spent about half an hour in devotion, and then, preceded by the sheriffs, the divines, and some gentlemen his friends, went up the scaffold, where he took leave of his friends with great calmness and serenity of mind ; and having spoken a few words to the executioner, gave him a purse of ten guineas, and put on a damask cap. Then he kneeled down to prayers, which lasted about seven minutes, all the spectators upon the scaffold kneeling with him.

Prayers

Prayers being over, he pulled off his clothes, and put his head to the block; from whence he soon got up, and having spoke a few words he kneeled down to it, and fixing his head, in about two minutes gave the signal to the executioner, who at three blows struck it off, and it was received in a scarlet cloth.

He behaved with the greatest fortitude and coolness of temper, and was no way shocked at the approach of death. His body was immediately put into a coffin, and carried back in a hearse to the Tower; and the scaffold, booth, and all the boards belonging to them, were cleared away in the afternoon.

His corpse was on the eleventh carried in a hearse attended by two mourning coaches, to St. Giles's in the Fields, and there interred with the remains of the late earl of Derwentwater, according to his desire, with this inscription on his coffin:

Carolus Ratcliffe, comes de Derwentwater,

Decolatus die 8 Decembris, 1746.

Ætatis 52.

Requiescat in pace.

His son was absolutely deprived of any title or interest in the fortune of the Derwentwater family, by an act of parliament which says, That the issue of any person attainted of high-treason, born and bred in any foreign dominion, and a Roman catholic, shall forfeit his reversion of such estate, and the remainder shall forever be fixed in the crown.

The fortune of the Derwentwater family is said to have amounted to above two hundred thousand pounds.

T H E

T H E
L I F E A N D D E A T H
O F

Lawrence Shirley, Earl Ferrers.

THE unhappy earl, who is the subject of this article, was son to Robert, earl of Ferrers. His lordship, in the early part of his life, gave hopes of his being an ornament to this noble family ; but when he was on his travels, he contracted a habit of drinking, and ran into other fashionable vices, which much altered his disposition of mind, as well as habit of body.

His lordship's fondness for company, and love of drinking, obliged him to spend his time among those who, being his inferiors both in rank and fortune, could not presume to use those admonitions that were necessary to keep him within the bounds of reason.

But drunkenness was not his lordship's **only** vice, he even made it subservient to others: for when sober he was continually laying schemes to mortify others, and to be revenged on those who had affronted him.

His lady, the youngest daughter of sir William Meredith, though she used all the arts of soft persuasion, had not the power to humanize a mind too rough and boisterous to be moved by gentleness and kind endearments. The whole course of

his lordship's life seemed to prepare the way for that fatal catastrophe which at last brought him to an ignominious death.

It is remarkable, that there were particular marks of premeditation in the murder of Mr. Johnson, whom he sent for five mornings successively before he could get a favourable opportunity of taking his life. On the fatal morning, he sent all his servants out of the way except one maid. When Mr. Johnson entered the room, he turned the key upon him, and on his presenting his papers, ordered him to fall upon his knees.

Upon Mr. Johnson's expostulating, the earl insisted upon his falling on his knees, and imploring the mercy of the Almighty, as he was never more to rise again on this side the grave. Mr. Johnson having obeyed, his lordship discharged the pistol full at his body, and he instantly fell. The earl then raised him up, and asked him how he felt himself; to which he replied, "Like a man who has but a few moments to live." The earl then placed him in a chair and rang the bell. The only servant in the house then entering, he sent her for Mr. Kirkland, a surgeon. Mr. Kirkland being come, examined the wound, which he found to be mortal; but not caring to acquaint his lordship with the truth, lest he himself should suffer the same fate, he, with great presence of mind, assured him that the man would be well in four and twenty hours.

Mr. Kirkland was no sooner out of his lordship's reach, but he applied to a neighbouring justice, who sent to secure his lordship and confine him in his own house, whence he endeavoured to make his escape, but was prevented. In nine hours Mr. Johnson died, and his lordship was committed to the county jail of Leicester.

Soon



Andrew S. S. S.

his lordship's life seemed to prepare the way for that fatal catastrophe which at last brought him to an ignominious death.

It is remarkable, that there were particular marks of premeditation in the murder of Mr. Johnson, whom he sent for five mornings successively before he could get a favourable opportunity of taking his life. On the fatal morning, he sent all his servants out of the way except one maid. When Mr. Johnson entered the room, he turned the key upon him, and on his presenting his papers, ordered him to fall upon his knees.

Upon Mr. Johnson's expostulating, the earl insisted upon his falling on his knees, and imploring the mercy of the Almighty, as he was never more to rise again on this side the grave. Mr. Johnson having obeyed, his lordship discharged the pistol full at his body, and he instantly fell. The earl then raised him up, and asked him how he felt himself; to which he replied, "Like a man who has but a few moments to live." The earl then placed him in a chair and rang the bell. The only servant in the house then entering, he sent her for Mr. Kirkland, a surgeon. Mr. Kirkland being come, examined the wound, which he found to be mortal; but not caring to acquaint his lordship with the truth, lest he himself should suffer the same fate, he, with great presence of mind, assured him that the man would be well in four and twenty hours.

Mr. Kirkland was no sooner out of his lordship's reach, but he applied to a neighbouring justice, who sent to secure his lordship and confine him in his own house, whence he endeavoured to make his escape, but was prevented. In nine hours Mr. Johnson died, and his lordship was committed to the county jail of Leicester.

Soon



Andrew S. S. S.

Soon after his lordship set out from Leicester jail in his own Landau and six, under a strong guard. On Wednesday, the fourteenth of April, 1760, he arrived at Westminster, and was immediately ordered to the Tower, where he arrived at six in the evening. The earl's mistress and children then took a lodging in Tower-street, and for some time a servant was continually sent with letters between them: but afterwards this correspondence was permitted only once a day, and the servant discharged.

On Wednesday, the sixteenth of April, the trial of earl Ferrers came on, the right honourable the lord Henley of the Grange being constituted lord high steward upon that occasion. The trial lasted two days, but his lordship was not obliged to stand at the bar the whole time; he was allowed to retire occasionally to a room allotted on purpose; but whenever he returned to the bar, he was obliged to kneel in compliment to the throne, his majesty be supposed to be present in the person of the lord high steward.

However, notwithstanding all that could be urged by his lordship's council in his defence, he was pronounced by his peers guilty of wilful murder.

The day after trial, the lord high steward made a most affecting speech to the prisoner; and then solemnly pronounced sentence, That he should be hanged by the neck till he was dead, and afterwards delivered to the surgeons to be dissected. He then broke his staff, and dismissed the assembly.

During the time his lordship was in the Tower, he eat and drank moderately. His breakfast was only a half pint bason of tea, with a spoonful of brandy in it, and a muffin. With his dinner, he generally drank a pint of wine and a pint of por-

and another pint of each with his supper. He was for the most part calm, but would sometimes start, and hastily unbrace his waistcoat, and otherwise behave so as to shew his mind was disturbed.

His mistress came three times to the Tower to see him, but was not admitted: her children, however, came dressed in mourning, and were with him some time. He had made a will, in which he left thirteen hundred pounds to Mr. Johnson's children, one thousand pounds to each of his four natural children, and sixty pounds a year to his mistress: but as this will was not made till after he was found guilty of the murder by the coroners inquest, it was of no validity; notwithstanding which the same, or nearly the same, provision was made for the persons abovementioned.

A few days before the time appointed for his execution, his lordship sent for his wardrobe and chose out of it a white suit embroidered with silver, saying, "This is the suit in which I was married, and in which I will die." He usually sat up till one or two o'clock, and did not rise till twelve. The night before his execution, he sat up till three o'clock, and when he waked in the morning was sick, but soon recovered.

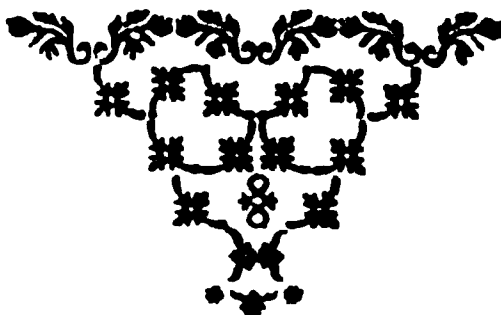
At the place of execution, his lordship, who appears to have been of deistical principles, declined saying any prayer but the Lord's Prayer; and after having repeated it, he cried, with great energy, "O God forgive me all my errors; pardon all my sins."

The executioner soon after proceeded to do his duty, his lordship submitting with great resignation. Having mounted a part of the scaffold raised eighteen inches higher than the rest and the signal being given by the sheriff, that part of the scaffold sank under him to a level with the rest, and he

he remained suspended in the air. He struggled for a few moments, but was soon dispatched by the pressure of the executioner; and having hung an hour and five minutes, he was cut down; the shell being raised, it was dropped into it and carried by six men to the hearse; after which it was conveyed by the sheriffs in the same procession to Surgeons Hall, to undergo the remainder of the sentence. The surgeons made a large incision from the neck to the bottom of the thorax or breast, and another across the throat: the abdomen was laid open, and the bowels taken out.

Thus did this nobleman suffer like a common felon; and it seems probable that this unhappy end was owing to the early prejudices against the Christian religion, which he had contracted in his travels, and which he appears to have retained to the last.

END OF THE THIRD VOLUME.



LIVES contained in the THIRD VOLUME.

Sir Henry Slingsby, - - - - -	539
Sir Charles Lucas, - - - - -	541
Sir George Lisle, - - - - -	544
Lord Ruffel, - - - - -	547
Arthur, lord Balmerino, - - - - -	556
William, earl of Kilmarnock, - - - - -	574
Simon, lord Lovat, - - - - -	586
Charles Ratcliffe, esq. - - - - -	604
Lawrence Shirley, earl Ferrers, - - - - -	609



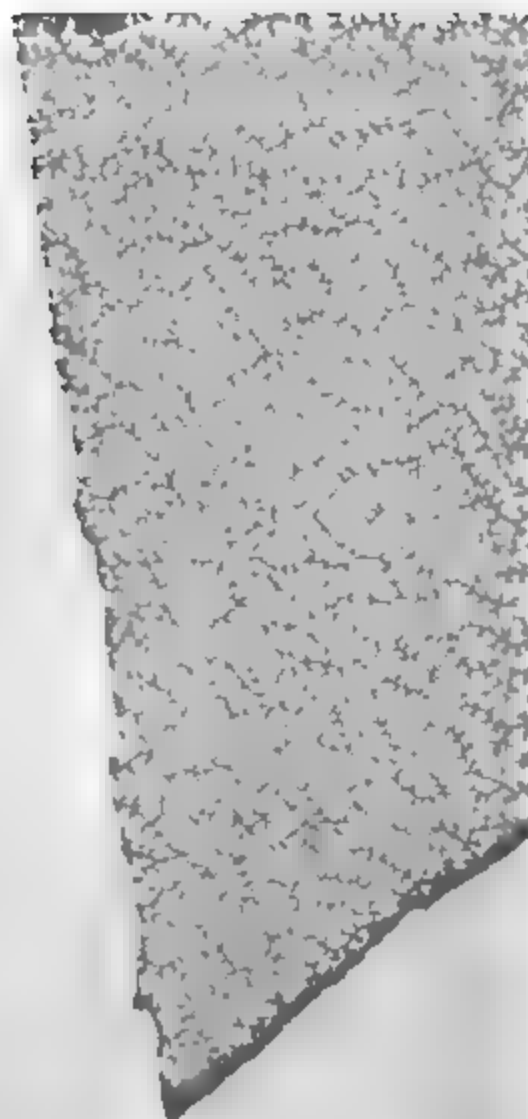
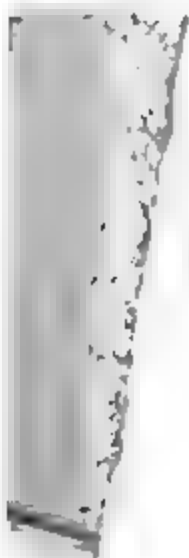


Mr. Lockhart, of Carnwath, in his *Memoirs*, treats this matter as a sham plot, trumped up by the duke of Queensbury and his party, and charged upon the marquess of Athol and the Tory party, in order to furnish a pretence to ruin and oppress them.

Simon Frazer knew exactly the situation of things; and the characters and measures of all the great men in both kingdoms; and this enabled him to play them one against another, and to avail himself of them all. He had proposed to the court of France to depend upon the Highlanders, and the Highlanders only. He knew very well the confidence the court of St. Germain's had in the dukes of Hamilton and Athol, and other great men in Scotland, and knew that some of the queen's ministers corresponded with the court of St. Germain's; and in de both Perth and Middleton believe, that they would prepare every thing, in case of the queen's death, for a change to their likings; and he also knew that they intended no such thing, but practised this artifice with a view to prevent their contriving plots and conspiracies during the war.

Upon his coming down to Scotland, he offered the earl of Leven and the duke of Argyll, to do service to the government; and by this means he procured admittance to, and a pass from, the duke of Queensbury. But before he did this, he had tried, by the interposition of the Murrays, to reconcile himself to the Athol family; but found it impossible, and that they were bent to destroy him if they could.

He therefore thought himself at full liberty to talk of the intrigues and correspondences to the duke of Queensbury; but this could not be called



Lord Lovat was however soon delivered from the persecution he had been under from the race of his return into France. The ministry of Versailles were convinced, they had injured him, and that they never had received any just or certain accounts of that country, but from him, and therefore, though they might be civil to some of the Scotch correspondents of the court of St Germain's afterwards, yet they never depended upon them; and the duke of Kirkcaldy plainly declared, that there was no relying upon, or trusting to the professions of those great men who were Lord Lovat's capital enemies, so that his credit rose in proportion as theirs declined; but, except being freed from the unjust suspicions of the French court, Lord Lovat reaped little benefit from this change; for the ministry, having now no farther views upon Scotland, took very little care of men of that nation; so that he was driven to very hard shifts for a subsistence, notwithstanding he was access to the greatest men in that kingdom, and was, to outward appearance, very well received by them, and of this he had sense enough to make a noble use, without flattering himself with imaginary hopes, or entertaining false expectations, as was the case of the rest of his countrymen, who it is pleaded to be filled with notions, that the Grand Monarch would not desert them, and that he and his nation looked upon the declaration of the king as a declaration of war, and entered into a new system with respect to the interest of the exiled party, which though it gave a false appearance, proved to be false in the bottom, and ended at last in establishing an opinion in the French court, that all projects in favour of that party were idle and chimerical, far or than as they served to amuse the ministers in England, and to keep alive the factions and parties



send his sons to France for their education, he advised his lordship to send them up to London; and to encourage him thereto, this great man offered to have a particular regard in their education, and undertook to be at the expence thereof out of his own pocket: such was this nobleman's generous care and concern to preserve this family from destruction: but our lord was deaf to his counsels and friendly admonition, and contented himself with sending him long letters in his own vindication, stuffed with thrusting evasions and flattering speeches, and boasting of the great services he had done in the year 1715, which he pretended ought to free him from any false imputation of disloyalty.

Lord Lovat was certainly under great obligations to the government for the fortunate turn in his affair after the year 1715. His late majesty frequently heaped favours upon him; made him lord-lieutenant of the county and governor of Inverness, gave him a pension, and the command of a Highland independent company, there being several of those companies raised after the rebellion to preserve the peace in the Highlands.

The king knew my lord's character, and that he appeared in arms against the rebels purely to serve himself: and therefore his majesty resolved, if possible, by dealing him with favours, to let him see, that his chief interest lay in serving the government faithfully. This was great policy, and had all its ends: it taught him so far to comply with the danger to himself, as even to continue him in the enjoyment of those gratifications which the late king thought proper to bestow upon him, the rebellion, in all probability, would never have been carried to such a height as it was; for he, with his
own

own clan, could have crushed it in its infancy. But in the year 1738, his lordship having voted contrary to the directions of the ministry, although the candidate he voted for was in the court interest, they took away his pension, stript him of his command, and deprived him of every mark of the government's favour.

It was not long before his lordship shewed his disgust after the court favour was withdrawn from him: and, his conversation plainly discovered, that he only wanted an opportunity to break out into rebellion. Not long after the battle of Preston-Pans, the Frasers, to the number of five hundred, were assembled, and armed, and sent to join the rebels at Perth.

A report was current about this time, and generally believed, that his lordship made an offer to a certain great man at court, that if twenty-five thousand pounds was put into his hands, to be distributed among the chiefs of the clans, he would engage that that part of the country should be kept quiet, and the Highlanders obliged to assist the king's forces.

His proposal, however, was rejected with disdain, and his designs suspected; and so he was reduced to a sort of necessity of engaging in support of the pretender, whose cause, about forty years before, he had notoriously betrayed, and strenuously opposed in the year 1715; and therefore could not now expect any great confidence from that party.

The lord-president, who, since the breaking out of the insurrection in Scotland, was exceeding active and vigilant in the service of the government, out of a sincere concern for the lord Lovat, wrote him a letter, expressing his unfeigned friendship for his lordship;



address and manners of a gentleman on horseback and on foot.

About the year 1692, by the interest of the family of Athol, he procured a company in the lord Tullibardine's regiment, and he might possibly have risen to considerable commands in the army, if his family concerns had not put it out of his power to continue in a military course of life. The decease of Hugh lord Lovat, without heirs male, who was his father's eldest brother, gave him, as he thought, a legal claim to the title, but most unquestionably it did a right to be chief of the Frasers, which, as it was impossible a woman could execute, so by the law of reason, as well as the custom of the clans, she ought not to inherit: but Hugh lord Lovat, above-mentioned, who had married a daughter of the marquis of Athol, made a settlement to limit the honours and estate of Lovat to his eldest daughter, and the heirs of her body.

The misunderstanding arising between him and the marquis on this occasion, was the reason of captain Fraser's throwing up his commission. The marquis, in order to secure the possession of the honours and estate to his grandchild, had proposed to him, that he should convey and make over his right to the same to her, and in consideration thereof, the marquis engaged to promote him in the army; but the captain, with a noble indignation, rejected the proposal, and utterly refused to make such a renunciation, protesting that no consideration whatever should make him sell his birth-right, by which he was entitled to the estate of Lovat, and to be chief of the Frasers.

It is known to be the custom of Scotland, and more especially in the Highlands, for the next heir-male to marry the heiress; and this cannot appear strange to those who read the Old Testament, since

the like custom was established among the Jews, whose political constitution was pretty much the same with that which anciently and hitherto has prevailed among the clans. There was nothing extravagant or very extraordinary in captain Fraser's pretending to the heiress of the deceased lord Lovat, and by marrying her to unite both their interests and claims.

To accomplish this, in the year 1694, he applied himself secretly to gain the young lady's favour, who was then about fifteen years of age, and lived with her mother, the lady dowager Lovat, at Castledowny, near Inverness. He made his pretensions known to the heiress, by the means of one Fraser of Tenechiel; and gained so much upon her affection, that she consented to marry him privately without the consent of her friends. In order to this, she left her mother's house one morning, with great secrecy, attended only by Tenechiel, her and the captain's confident in the intrigue. But before they had gone far, Tenechiel repenting of what he had undertaken, and perhaps dreading the resentment of the young lady's powerful relations, or thinking to make a merit of so important a discovery, carried her back again to her mother, and disclosed the whole affair.

The disappointment of the lovers, and the sorrow and despair of captain Fraser, is more easily to be imagined than described.

The attempt upon the heiress of Lovat, alarming the family of Athol, they thought it not safe for her to remain any longer in that part of the country, and therefore ordered her to be sent, under a proper escort to Dunkeld, the marquis's seat, which was accordingly done; and the marquis, from that time, began to think of marrying her into some great family, and thereby blast the
hopes

hopes of the captain, and prevent the honours and estate ever coming to his possession. For this purpose a match was proposed between her and the master of Salton, eldest son of lord Salton, which is a distinct family of the Frasers. Lord Salton embraced this proposal very cheerfully, thinking such an alliance very advantageous and honourable to his family.

The original design of the lord, by whom this affair was contrived and conducted, was to have had the marriage celebrated at the family seat of the Frasers, Castledowny, where the lady-dowager Lovat resided; and thither lord Salton, his son, the intended bridegroom, accompanied by lord Mungo Murray, a younger son of the marquess of Athol, were going, when captain Simon Fraser stopped them in their journey, and brought them prisoners to that very place into which they were to have entered in triumph. When he had them there, he expostulated the matter with lord Salton, and shewed him so plainly the nature of his own title to be chief of the Lovat tribe of Frasers, that he readily relinquished the match. If the young lady had been there, this stroke would have been decisive; but as she was not, and the lady-dowager Lovat was a very agreeable woman, and exceedingly beloved by the clan, captain Fraser made his addresses to her, in which he prevailed; and though he had a guard about the house, and some other circumstances gave this marriage an air of force; yet, such was the affection of that lady to him, that when, by the power of her family he was driven out of the Frasers country, and forced to fly for his life, she was not only the companion of his dangers and misfortunes, but, in the midst of those difficulties, insisted upon a second solemnization of the marriage, which at her desire was

484 The LIFE and DEATH of the

Spectators at a distance not knowing the true cause of the Duke's being retarded, attributed it to puff-blowing: but that delay was owing to a few trivial circumstances which it is necessary to mention in his vindication. My lord's hair having been dressed in a bag, it took some time to undo it and put up in his cap. The pulling his shirt under the whitecoat was the occasion of some farther small delay. But when these preliminaries were adjusted, his lordship took out a paper containing the terms of his devotion, went forward to his last stage and devoutly knelt down on the stool. Whether it was to support himself, or for a more convenient posture for devotion, he happened to lay his hands with his head upon the cushion, which the executioner seeing, perceived his design to let his hands fall down, that they should be mangled, or broken off. He then he was told, that the neck of his whitecoat was the way, upon which he rose and laid it down off.

Then he laid the cushioned bar to the shoulder, he again knelt down, and what still more fully showed that he was not full of mind to the last, Mr. Howard's servant told the clerk to remove the cloth, which he lay to the executioner, that in two minutes he would give the blow.

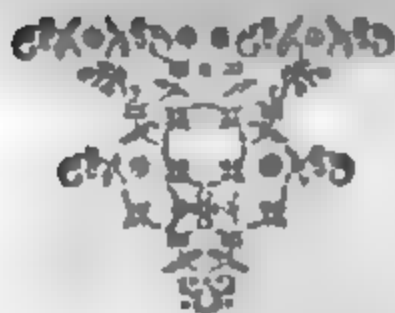
At this time he spent in most fervent devotion, as appeared by the motion of his hands and nose and mouth to heaven. He then moved his neck on the cloth, he gave the signal. His last remark was, that he was not on, except what was given it by the executioner, which he received full, and then he fell off the stool as he lay upon.

His head was cut off with a piece of timber, and the body was cut off with a cut-throat.

Thus

Thus deſervedly fell, though humble and relenting, the late earl of Kilmarnock, a ſacrifice to the juſtice of his country.

His perſon was tall and graceful, his countenance kind, and his complexion pale. He had abilities, if they had been properly applied, which might have rendered him capable of bringing an increaſe of honour to his family inſtead of ruin and diſgrace.



T H E

L I F E A N D D E A T H

O F

SIMON LORD LOVAT.

SIMON FRASER was the second son of Thomas Fraser, of Beaufort, by a daughter of the Lord of M'Leod; and consequently is descended, both by father and mother, from as ancient and as honorable families as any in the kingdom of Scotland.

He was born at Beaufort aforesaid, near Inverness, in the Highland, in the year 1688. His father and his elder brother both dying while he was very young, the Lord of M'Leod took upon him the care of his education, and, after some time spent at the grammar school, sent him to King's College in the University of Aberdeen.

He was very far from improving himself by a very direct application to his studies: on the contrary, in his leisure hours, he neglected books, and more than he had cause to do, and was only content to gain such a reputation as might preserve him from reproach among people of the lower rank with himself, whom in that country are not so forward to be despised, and much less to be despised by themselves, than if he was no more than a peasant. He applied himself diligently to his exercises, and was so far from being thought to have the address



address and manners of a gentleman on horseback and on foot.

About the year 1692, by the interest of the family of Athol, he procured a company in the lord Tullibardine's regiment, and he might possibly have risen to considerable commands in the army, if his family concerns had not put it out of his power to continue in a military course of life. The decease of Hugh lord Lovat, without heirs male, who was his father's eldest brother, gave him, as he thought, a legal claim to the title, but most unquestionably it did a right to be chief of the Frasers, which, as it was impossible a woman could execute, so by the law of reason, as well as the custom of the clans, she ought not to inherit: but Hugh lord Lovat, above-mentioned, who had married a daughter of the marquis of Athol, made a settlement to limit the honours and estate of Lovat to his eldest daughter, and the heirs of her body.

The misunderstanding arising between him and the marquis on this occasion, was the reason of captain Fraser's throwing up his commission. The marquis, in order to secure the possession of the honours and estate to his grandchild, had proposed to him, that he should convey and make over his right to the same to her, and in consideration thereof, the marquess engaged to promote him in the army; but the captain, with a noble indignation, rejected the proposal, and utterly refused to make such a renunciation, protesting that no consideration whatever should make him sell his birth-right, by which he was entitled to the estate of Lovat, and to be chief of the Frasers.

It is known to be the custom of Scotland, and more especially in the Highlands, for the next heir-male to marry the heiress; and this cannot appear strange to those who read the Old Testament, since

the like custom was established among the Jews, whose political constitution was pretty much the same with that which anciently and hitherto has prevailed among the clans. There was nothing extravagant or very extraordinary in captain Simon Fraser's pretending to the heiress of the deceased lord Lovat, and by marrying her to unite both their interests and claims.

To accomplish this, in the year 1694, he applied himself secretly to gain the young lady's favour, who was then about fifteen years of age, and lived with her mother, the lady dowager Lovat, at Castledowny, near Inverness. He made his sentiments known to the heiress, by the means of one Fraser of Tenechiel; and gained so much upon her affection, that she consented to marry him privately without the consent of her friends. In order to this, she left her mother's house one morning, with great secrecy, attended only by Tenechiel, her and the captain's confident in the intrigue. But before they had gone far, Tenechiel repenting of what he had undertaken, and perhaps dreading the resentment of the young lady's powerful relations, or thinking to make a merit of so important a discovery, carried her back again to her mother, and disclosed the whole affair.

The disappointment of the lovers, and the sorrow and despair of captain Fraser, is more easily to be imagined than described.

This attempt upon the heiress of Lovat, alarming the family of Athol, they thought it not safe for her to remain any longer in that part of the country, and therefore ordered her to be sent, under a proper escort to Dunkeld, the marquis's seat, which was accordingly done; and the marquis, from that time, began to think of marrying her into some great family, and thereby blast the
hopes

hopes of the captain, and prevent the honours and estate ever coming to his possession. For this purpose a match was proposed between her and the master of Salton, eldest son of lord Salton, which is a distinct family of the Frasers. Lord Salton embraced this proposal very cheerfully, thinking such an alliance very advantageous and honourable to his family.

The original design of the lord, by whom this affair was contrived and conducted, was to have had the marriage celebrated at the family seat of the Frasers, Castledowny, where the lady-dowager Lovat resided; and thither lord Salton, his son, the intended bridegroom, accompanied by lord Mungo Murray, a younger son of the marquess of Athol, were going, when captain Simon Fraser stopped them in their journey, and brought them prisoners to that very place into which they were to have entered in triumph. When he had them there, he expostulated the matter with lord Salton, and shewed him so plainly the nature of his own title to be chief of the Lovat tribe of Frasers, that he readily relinquished the match. If the young lady had been there, this stroke would have been decisive; but as she was not, and the lady-dowager Lovat was a very agreeable woman, and exceedingly beloved by the clan, captain Fraser made his addresses to her, in which he prevailed; and though he had a guard about the house, and some other circumstances gave this marriage an air of force; yet, such was the affection of that lady to him, that when, by the power of her family he was driven out of the Frasers country, and forced to fly for his life, she was not only the companion of his dangers and misfortunes, but, in the midst of those difficulties, insisted upon a second solemnization of the marriage, which at her desire was

complied with: but the kindness of the lady was not greater than the hatred of her family. They pursued captain Fraser with implacable steadiness, exerted against him the weight of their power, which drove him to rocks and caves for shelter, and employed at the same time the weight of their influence by which they procured a sentence of the court of justiciary against him for a rape. They pursued him likewise as guilty of high treason in levying war; and to support these dreadful sentences in both cases, they procured an order for a party of dragoons, commanded by lieutenant Robert Campbell, to put the law in execution with respect to his house and estate at Beaufort, which that gentleman, with great reluctance, did.

Thus captain Fraser became an enemy to the government in destruction of law, which drove him from his country, friends and wife. Yet, on a representation to king William, of glorious memory, a remission was granted to him as to the treason, but the judgment as to the rape remained in full force, so that he had a pardon for the greater crime, with non obstante to be hanged for the less offence: which he avoided by being put out of the reach of his enemies as well as he could, and when it was found impracticable for him to remain either in Scotland or England, he was compelled to fly to the only place where he was sure of protection, and was carried him to the court of St. German's, so that by the Jacobite interest in Scotland, he was driven to act the part of a Jacobite himself; and that, we are told by his friends, was the true and plain state of his first appearance to the exiled family, by whom he was immediately received in the character and quality of lord Lovat, and chief of the Frasers.

The first thing he did, was to open the eyes of the French ministers with respect to the posture of affairs in Scotland, which was a very difficult thing to do, since they were at that time so perplexed that neither the French nor English court knew what to make of them. He shewed them clearly that, with regard to the family at St. Germain's, the clans only were to be depended upon, for that the other parties in Scotland sought merely their own interest, and were for any court in which they could be uppermost.

It was in consequence of the lights he gave them, that the French ministers came to change their notions with respect to persons and things; and whatever sentiments they might entertain of the sincerity of his attachment to the family in France, they were convinced that he did not deceive them in the accounts he gave; and therefore, notwithstanding all that was said by the earl of Middleton and his creatures, they continued to employ him; and he had likewise a share in the favour of queen Mary, who having been herself in Scotland, when duchess of York, had truer notions of things than some of her Scotch ministers could have wished she had, because it led to disapprove several of those schemes in which they were most sanguine.

Captain Fraser was honoured with a commission, some say that of a colonel of foot, others a major-general's, and furnished with power and credentials to treat with the noblemen and gentlemen in Scotland, who were attached to that interest, and particularly the chiefs of the clans. He was likewise provided with some arms and ammunition, and with a sum of money from the court of France.

Mr. Lockhart, of Carnwarth, in his *Memoirs*, treats this matter as a sham plot, trumped up by the duke of Queensbury and his party, and charged upon the marquess of Athol and the Tory party, in order to furnish a pretence to ruin and oppress them.

Simon Frazer knew exactly the situation of things; and the characters and measures of all the great men in both kingdoms; and this enabled him to play them one against another, and to avail himself of them all. He had proposed to the court of France to depend upon the Highlanders, and the Highlanders only. He knew very well the confidence the court of St. Germain's had in the dukes of Hamilton and Athol, and other great men in Scotland, and knew that some of the queen's ministers corresponded with the court of St. Germain's; and in de both Perth and Middleton believe, that they would prepare every thing, in case of the queen's death, for a change to their liking; and he also knew that they intended no such thing, but practised this artifice with a view to prevent their contriving plots and conspiracies during the war.

Upon his coming down to Scotland, he offered the earl of Leven and the duke of Argyre, to do service to the government; and by this means he procured admittance to, and a pass from, the duke of Queensbury. But before he did this, he had tried, by the interposition of the Murrays, to reconcile himself to the Athol family, but found it impossible, and that they were bent to destroy him if they could.

He the more thought himself at full liberty to talk of their intrigues and correspondences to the duke of Queensbury; but this could not be called

called betraying them, because they never trusted him. They acted upon a different plan, and whether they really intended to serve either one court or the other, was a secret then, and will so remain to the end of time. But it was no secret to him, that they hated the duke of Queensbury, and the duke of Queensbury them; and therefore he knew, that offering to find out their correspondences would recommend him to his grace. But he never communicated to the duke one word of his secret commission, or of his message to the clans, so that he did not betray those that trusted him, nor the scheme with which he was trusted.

Upon the return of captain Fraser to France, and the court of St. Germain's, where, by the way, he was always called and considered as lord Lovat. He found his interest much sunk; the clamour from England and Scotland had got over thither before him; and, notwithstanding all he could say, and all that he had done, there was no such thing as making people there believe that he had not betrayed the royalists, as they called them in Scotland: but this would not have given him much pain, if the French ministers had not conceived animosities of him; but they finding that the very paper he had given them, concerning the strength of the clans, with the remarks of the earl of Cromertie upon it, had been produced to the English parliament, concluded that he must have betrayed them, though the fact really was, that he gave this paper originally to sir John M'Lean, in order to engage him to introduce him to queen Mary; and sir John being very unluckily taken into custody, upon his going over to take the benefit of the indemnity, and being examined as to his knowledge of captain Fraser, owned every thing and delivered up this paper.



address and manners of a gentleman on horseback and on foot.

About the year 1692, by the interest of the family of Athol, he procured a company in the lord Tullibardine's regiment, and he might possibly have risen to considerable commands in the army, if his family concerns had not put it out of his power to continue in a military course of life. The decease of Hugh lord Lovat, without heirs male, who was his father's eldest brother, gave him, as he thought, a legal claim to the title, but most unquestionably it did a right to be chief of the Frasers, which, as it was impossible a woman could execute, so by the law of reason, as well as the custom of the clans, she ought not to inherit: but Hugh lord Lovat, above-mentioned, who had married a daughter of the marquis of Athol, made a settlement to limit the honours and estate of Lovat to his eldest daughter, and the heirs of her body.

The misunderstanding arising between him and the marquis on this occasion, was the reason of captain Fraser's throwing up his commission. The marquis, in order to secure the possession of the honours and estate to his grandchild, had proposed to him, that he should convey and make over his right to the same to her, and in consideration thereof, the marquis engaged to promote him in the army; but the captain, with a noble indignation, rejected the proposal, and utterly refused to make such a renunciation, protesting that no consideration whatever should make him sell his birth-right, by which he was entitled to the estate of Lovat, and to be chief of the Frasers.

It is known to be the custom of Scotland, and more especially in the Highlands, for the next heir-male to marry the heiress; and this cannot appear strange to those who read the Old Testament, since

the like custom was established among the Jews, whose political constitution was pretty much the same with that which anciently and hitherto has prevailed among the clans. There was nothing extravagant or very extraordinary in captain Simon Fraser's pretending to the heiress of the deceased lord Lovat, and by marrying her to unite both their interests and claims.

To accomplish this, in the year 1694, he applied himself secretly to gain the young lady's favour, who was then about fifteen years of age, and lived with her mother, the lady dowager Lovat, at Castledowny, near Inverness. He made his sentiments known to the heiress, by the means of one Fraser of Tenechiel; and gained so much upon her affection, that she consented to marry him privately without the consent of her friends. In order to this, she left her mother's house one morning, with great secrecy, attended only by Tenechiel, her and the captain's confident in the intrigue. But before they had gone far, Tenechiel repenting of what he had undertaken, and perhaps dreading the resentment of the young lady's powerful relations, or thinking to make a merit of so important a discovery, carried her back again to her mother, and disclosed the whole affair.

The disappointment of the lovers, and the sorrow and despair of captain Fraser, is more easily to be imagined than described.

This attempt upon the heiress of Lovat, alarming the family of Athol, they thought it not safe for her to remain any longer in that part of the country, and therefore ordered her to be sent, under a proper escort to Dunkeld, the marquess's seat, which was accordingly done; and the marquess, from that time, began to think of marrying her into some great family, and thereby blast the
hopes

hopes of the captain, and prevent the honours and estate ever coming to his possession. For this purpose a match was proposed between her and the master of Salton, eldest son of lord Salton, which is a distinct family of the Frasers. Lord Salton embraced this proposal very cheerfully, thinking such an alliance very advantageous and honourable to his family.

The original design of the lord, by whom this affair was contrived and conducted, was to have had the marriage celebrated at the family seat of the Frasers, Castledowny, where the lady-dowager Lovat resided; and thither lord Salton, his son, the intended bridegroom, accompanied by lord Mungo Murray, a younger son of the marquess of Athol, were going, when captain Simon Fraser stopped them in their journey, and brought them prisoners to that very place into which they were to have entered in triumph. When he had them there, he expostulated the matter with lord Salton, and shewed him so plainly the nature of his own title to be chief of the Lovat tribe of Frasers, that he readily relinquished the match. If the young lady had been there, this stroke would have been decisive; but as she was not, and the lady-dowager Lovat was a very agreeable woman, and exceedingly beloved by the clan, captain Fraser made his addresses to her, in which he prevailed; and though he had a guard about the house, and some other circumstances gave this marriage an air of force; yet, such was the affection of that lady to him, that when, by the power of her family he was driven out of the Frasers country, and forced to fly for his life, she was not only the companion of his dangers and misfortunes, but, in the midst of those difficulties, insisted upon a second solemnization of the marriage, which at her desire was

complied with: but the kindness of the lady was not greater than the hatred of her family. They pursued captain Fraser with implacable readiness, exerted against him the weight of their power, which drove him to rocks and caves for shelter, and employed at the same time the weight of their influence by which they procured a sentence of the court of justiciary against him for a rape. They pursued him likewise as guilty of high treason in levying war; and to support these dreadful sentences in both cases, they procured an order for a party of dragons, commanded by lieutenant Robert Campbell, to put the law in execution with respect to his house and estate at Beaufort, which that gentleman, with great reluctance, did.

Thus captain Fraser became an enemy to the government in contravention of law, which drove him from his country, friends and wife. But, on a representation to king William, of glorious memory, a remission was granted to him as to the treason, but the judgment as to the rape remained in full force; so that he had a pardon for the greater crime, with non obstante to be hanged for the less offence: which he avoided by keeping out of the reach of his enemies as well as he could, and when it was found impracticable for him to remain either in Scotland or England, he was compelled to fly to the only place where he was sure of protection; and this carried him to the court of St. Germain's, so that by the Jacobite interest in Scotland, he was driven to act the part of a Jacobite himself; and thus, we are told by his friends, was the true and plain state of his first appearance to the exiled family, by whom he was at first well received on the character and quality of lord Lovat, and chief of the Frasers.

The first thing he did, was to open the eyes of the French ministers with respect to the posture of affairs in Scotland, which was a very difficult thing to do, since they were at that time so perplexed that neither the French nor English court knew what to make of them. He shewed them clearly that, with regard to the family at St. Germain's, the clans only were to be depended upon, for that the other parties in Scotland sought merely their own interest, and were for any court in which they could be uppermost.

It was in consequence of the lights he gave them, that the French ministers came to change their notions with respect to persons and things; and whatever sentiments they might entertain of the sincerity of his attachment to the family in France, they were convinced that he did not deceive them in the accounts he gave; and therefore, notwithstanding all that was said by the earl of Middleton and his creatures, they continued to employ him; and he had likewise a share in the favour of queen Mary, who having been herself in Scotland, when duchess of York, had truer notions of things than some of her Scotch ministers could have wished she had, because it led to disapprove several of those schemes in which they were most sanguine.

Captain Fraser was honoured with a commission, some say that of a colonel of foot, others a major-general's, and furnished with power and credentials to treat with the noblemen and gentlemen in Scotland, who were attached to that interest, and particularly the chiefs of the clans. He was likewise provided with some arms and ammunition, and with a sum of money from the court of France.

Mr. Lockhart, of Carnwath, in his *Memoirs*, treats this matter as a sham plot, trumped up by the duke of Queensbury and his party, and charged upon the marquess of Athol and the Tory party, in order to furnish a pretence to ruin and oppress them.

Simon Frazer knew exactly the situation of things; and the characters and measures of all the great men in both kingdoms; and this enabled him to play them one against another, and to avail himself of them all. He had proposed to the court of France to depend upon the Highlanders, and the Highlanders only. He knew very well the confidence the court of St. Germain's had in the dukes of Hamilton and Athol, and other great men in Scotland, and knew that some of the queen's ministers corresponded with the court of St. Germain's; and in de both Perth and Middleton believe, that they would prepare every thing, in case of the queen's death, for a change to their liking; and he also knew that they intended no such thing, but practised this artifice with a view to prevent their contriving plots and conspiracies during the war.

Upon his coming down to Scotland, he offered the earl of Leven and the duke of Argyre, to do service to the government; and by this means he procured admittance to, and a pass from, the duke of Queensbury. But before he did this, he had tried, by the interposition of the Murrays, to reconcile himself to the Athol family, but found it impossible, and that they were bent to destroy him if they could.

He then thought himself at full liberty to take on him the management and carrying on of the duke of Queensbury's business; but this could not be called

called betraying them, because they never trusted him. They acted upon a different plan, and whether they really intended to serve either one court or the other, was a secret then, and will so remain to the end of time. But it was no secret to him, that they hated the duke of Queensbury, and the duke of Queensbury them; and therefore he knew, that offering to find out their correspondences would recommend him to his grace. But he never communicated to the duke one word of his secret commission, or of his message to the clans, so that he did not betray those that trusted him, nor the scheme with which he was trusted.

Upon the return of captain Frazer to France, and the court of St. Germain's, where, by the way, he was always called and considered as lord Lovat. He found his interest much sunk; the clamour from England and Scotland had got over thither before him; and, notwithstanding all he could say, and all that he had done, there was no such thing as making people there believe that he had not betrayed the royalists, as they called them in Scotland: but this would not have given him much pain, if the French ministers had not conceived animis of him; but they finding that the very paper he had given them, concerning the strength of the clans, with the remarks of the earl of Cromertie upon it, had been produced to the English parliament, concluded that he must have betrayed them, though the fact really was, that he gave this paper originally to sir John M'Lean, in order to engage him to introduce him to queen Mary; and sir John being very unluckily taken into custody, upon his going over to take the benefit of the indemnity, and being examined as to his knowledge of captain Frazer, owned every thing and delivered up this paper.



address and manners of a gentleman on horseback and on foot.

About the year 1692, by the interest of the family of Athol, he procured a company in the lord Tullibardine's regiment, and he might possibly have risen to considerable commands in the army, if his family concerns had not put it out of his power to continue in a military course of life. The decease of Hugh lord Lovat, without heirs male, who was his father's eldest brother, gave him, as he thought, a legal claim to the title, but most unquestionably it did a right to be chief of the Frasers, which, as it was impossible a woman could execute, so by the law of reason, as well as the custom of the clans, she ought not to inherit: but Hugh lord Lovat, above-mentioned, who had married a daughter of the marquis of Athol, made a settlement to limit the honours and estate of Lovat to his eldest daughter, and the heirs of her body.

The misunderstanding arising between him and the marquis on this occasion, was the reason of captain Fraser's throwing up his commission. The marquis, in order to secure the possession of the honours and estate to his grandchild, had proposed to him, that he should convey and make over his right to the same to her, and in consideration thereof, the marquis engaged to promote him in the army; but the captain, with a noble indignation, rejected the proposal, and utterly refused to make such a renunciation, protesting that no consideration whatever should make him sell his birth-right, by which he was entitled to the estate of Lovat, and to be chief of the Frasers.

It is known to be the custom of Scotland, and more especially in the Highlands, for the next heir-male to marry the heiress; and this cannot appear strange to those who read the Old Testament, since

the like custom was established among the Jews, whose political constitution was pretty much the same with that which anciently and hitherto has prevailed among the clans. There was nothing extravagant or very extraordinary in captain Simon Fraser's pretending to the heiress of the deceased lord Lovat, and by marrying her to unite both their interests and claims.

To accomplish this, in the year 1694, he applied himself secretly to gain the young lady's favour, who was then about sixteen years of age, and lived with her mother, the lady dowager Lovat, at Castledowny, near Inverness. He made his sentiments known to the heiress, by the means of one Fraser of Tenechiel; and gained so much upon her affection, that she consented to marry him privately without the consent of her friends. In order to this, she left her mother's house one morning, with great secrecy, attended only by Tenechiel, her and the captain's confidant in the intrigue. But before they had gone far, Tenechiel repenting of what he had undertaken, and perhaps dreading the resentment of the young lady's powerful relations, or thinking to make a merit of so important a discovery, carried her back again to her mother, and disclosed the whole affair.

The disappointment of the lovers, and the sorrow and despair of captain Fraser, is more easily to be imagined than described.

The attempt upon the heiress of Lovat, alarming the family of Athol, they thought it not safe for her to remain any longer in that part of the country, and therefore ordered her to be sent, under a proper escort to Dunkeld, the marquis's seat, which was accordingly done; and the marquis, from that time, began to think of marrying her into some great family, and thereby blast the
hopes

hopes of the captain, and prevent the honours and estate ever coming to his possession. For this purpose a match was proposed between her and the master of Salton, eldest son of lord Salton, which is a distinct family of the Frasers. Lord Salton embraced this proposal very cheerfully, thinking such an alliance very advantageous and honourable to his family.

The original design of the lord, by whom this affair was contrived and conducted, was to have had the marriage celebrated at the family seat of the Frasers, Castledowny, where the lady-dowager Lovat resided; and thither lord Salton, his son, the intended bridegroom, accompanied by lord Mungo Murray, a younger son of the marquess of Athol, were going, when captain Simon Fraser stopped them in their journey, and brought them prisoners to that very place into which they were to have entered in triumph. When he had them there, he expostulated the matter with lord Salton, and shewed him so plainly the nature of his own title to be chief of the Lovat tribe of Frasers, that he readily relinquished the match. If the young lady had been there, this stroke would have been decisive; but as she was not, and the lady-dowager Lovat was a very agreeable woman, and exceedingly beloved by the clan, captain Fraser made his addresses to her, in which he prevailed; and though he had a guard about the house, and some other circumstances gave this marriage an air of force; yet, such was the affection of that lady to him, that when, by the power of her family he was driven out of the Frasers country, and forced to fly for his life, she was not only the companion of his dangers and misfortunes, but, in the midst of those difficulties, insisted upon a second solemnization of the marriage, which at her desire was

complied with: but the kindness of the lady was not greater than the hatred of her family. They pursued captain Fraser with implacable hatred, exerted against him the weight of their power, which drove him to rocks and caves for shelter, and employed at the same time the weight of their influence by which they procured a sentence of the court of justiciary against him for a rape. They pursued him likewise as guilty of high treason in levying war; and to support these dreadful sentences in both cases, they procured an order for a party of dragoons, commanded by lieutenant Robert Campbell, to put the law in execution with respect to his house and estate at Beaufort, which that gentleman, with great reluctance, did.

Thus captain Fraser became an enemy to the government in contravention of law, which drove him from his country, friends and wife, but, on a representation to king William, of glorious memory, a remission was granted to him as to the treason, but the judgment as to the rape remained in full force; so that he had a pardon for the greater crime, with no obstante to be hanged for the less offence: which he avoided by keeping out of the reach of his enemies as well as he could: and when it was found impracticable for him to remain either in Scotland or England, he was compelled to fly to the only place where he was sure of protection; and this carried him to the court of St Germain's; so that by the Jacobite interest in Scotland, he was driven to act the part of a Jacobite himself; and thus, we are told by his friends, was the true and plain state of his first application to the exiled family, by whom he was not only received in the character and quality of lord Lovat, and chief of the Frasers.

The

The first thing he did, was to open the eyes of the French ministers with respect to the posture of affairs in Scotland, which was a very difficult thing to do, since they were at that time so perplexed that neither the French nor English court knew what to make of them. He shewed them clearly that, with regard to the family at St. Germain's, the clans only were to be depended upon, for that the other parties in Scotland sought merely their own interest, and were for any court in which they could be uppermost.

It was in consequence of the lights he gave them, that the French ministers came to change their notions with respect to persons and things ; and whatever sentiments they might entertain of the sincerity of his attachment to the family in France, they were convinced that he did not deceive them in the accounts he gave ; and therefore, notwithstanding all that was said by the earl of Middleton and his creatures, they continued to employ him ; and he had likewise a share in the favour of queen Mary, who having been herself in Scotland, when duchess of York, had truer notions of things than some of her Scotch ministers could have wished she had, because it led to disapprove several of those schemes in which they were most sanguine.

Captain Fraser was honoured with a commission, first, say that of a colonel or next, others a major-general's, and furnished with power and credentials to treat with the noblemen and gentlemen in Scotland, who were attached to that interest, and particularly the chiefs of the clans. He was likewise provided with some arms and ammunition, and with a sum of money from the court of France.

Mr. Lockhart, of Carnwarth, in his *Memoirs*, treats this matter as a sham plot, trumped up by the duke of Queensbury and his party, and charged upon the marquess of Athol and the Tory party, in order to furnish a pretence to ruin and oppress them.

Simon Frazer knew exactly the situation of things; and the characters and measures of all the great men in both kingdoms; and this enabled him to play them one against another, and to avail himself of them all. He had proposed to the court of France to depend upon the Highlanders, and the Highlanders only. He knew very well the confidence the court of St. Germain's had in the dukes of Hamilton and Athol, and other great men in Scotland, and knew that some of the queen's ministers corresponded with the court of St. Germain's; and in de both Perth and Middleton believe, that they would prepare every thing, in case of the queen's death, for a change to their liking; and he also knew that they intended no such thing, but practised this artifice with a view to prevent their contriving plots and conspiracies during the war.

Up on his coming down to Scotland, he offered the earl of Leven and the duke of Argyre, to do service to the government; and by this means he procured admittance to, and a pass from, the duke of Queensbury. But before he did this, he had tried, by the interposition of the Murrays, to reconcile himself to the Athol family; but found it impossible, and that they were bent to destroy him if they could.

He the while thought himself at full liberty to talk of these matters, and convey sentences to the duke of Queensbury; but this could not be called

called betraying them, because they never trusted him. They acted upon a different plan, and whether they really intended to serve either one court or the other, was a secret then, and will so remain to the end of time. But it was no secret to him, that they hated the duke of Queensbury, and the duke of Queensbury them; and therefore he knew, that offering to find out their correspondences would recommend him to his grace. But he never communicated to the duke one word of his secret commission, or of his message to the clans, so that he did not betray those that trusted him, nor the scheme with which he was trusted.

Upon the return of captain Fraser to France, and the court of St. Germain's, where, by the way, he was always called and considered as lord Lovat. He found his interest much sunk; the clamour from England and Scotland had got over thither before him; and, notwithstanding all he could say, and all that he had done, there was no such thing as making people there believe that he had not betrayed the royalists, as they called them in Scotland: but this would not have given him much pain, if the French ministers had not conceived animosities of him; but they finding that the very paper he had given them, concerning the strength of the clans, with the remarks of the earl of Cromertie upon it, had been produced to the English parliament, concluded that he must have betrayed them, though the fact really was, that he gave this paper originally to sir John M'Lean, in order to engage him to introduce him to queen Mary; and sir John being very unluckily taken into custody, upon his going over to take the benefit of the indemnity, and being examined as to his knowledge of captain Fraser, owned every thing and delivered up this paper.

parties in Great-Britain, in maintaining of which the French still hoped to find their account.

Lord Lovat was afterwards restored to favour, and pardoned for his loyalty and services in the rebellion in 15; after which he made his first public appearance at Edinburgh in the year 1717. About the same year his lordship intermarried with a daughter of the laird of Grant, sister to the present sir James Grant, bart. intending to add to his power and interest by an alliance with so potent and numerous a clan. Of this marriage are issue two sons and two daughters.

Upon the decease of this lady, his lordship married a young lady nearly related to the noble family of Argyle, by whom he had a son named Archibald: but his cruel and unworthy usage of that lady, which has for ever occasioned a separation between them, instead of uniting himself more firmly to that great family, as he intended, has justly drawn upon him their resentment and contempt.

About the year 1737, lord Lovat became greatly suspected of some treasonable designs: and an information was given to one of the secretaries of state, that his lordship, under pretence of providing arms for his independent company, had bought up a considerable number of fire-arms, broad-swords and targets.

This was represented to a certain great man at court, who thereupon wrote to lord Lovat upon that head, desiring from him an account of the truth of these matters, and that he would satisfy the government with respect to the charge: and the more effectually to quiet the apprehension that some people had entertained of his conduct, and as it was generally reported that his lordship proposed to

T H E

L I F E A N D D E A T H

O F

SIMON LORD LOVAT.

SIMON FRASER was the second son of Thomas Fraser, of Beaufort, by a daughter of the Lord of M'Leod; and consequently is descended, both by father and mother, from as ancient and as honourable families as any in the kingdom of Scotland.

He was born at Beaufort aforesaid, near Inverness, in the Highland, in the year 1688. His father and his elder brother both dying while he was very young, the Lord of M'Leod took upon him the care of his education, and, after some time spent at the grammar school, sent him to King's college in the university of Aberdeen.

He was very far from dignifying himself by a very strict application to his studies: on the contrary, in his amusements, he neglected books much more than he has to be sure, and was only careful to gain such a measure of letters, as might preserve him from reproach amongst people of the lower rank with himself, who in that country are not so much found to be deeply learned, and much seldomer absolute ignorants: but if he was no close student, he applied himself diligently to his exercises, and was in those days thought to have the address



address and manners of a gentleman on horseback and on foot.

About the year 1692, by the interest of the family of Athol, he procured a company in the lord Tullibardine's regiment, and he might possibly have risen to considerable commands in the army, if his family concerns had not put it out of his power to continue in a military course of life. The decease of Hugh lord Lovat, without heirs male, who was his father's eldest brother, gave him, as he thought, a legal claim to the title, but most unquestionably it did a right to be chief of the Frasers, which, as it was impossible a woman could execute, so by the law of reason, as well as the custom of the clans, she ought not to inherit: but Hugh lord Lovat, above-mentioned, who had married a daughter of the marquis of Athol, made a settlement to limit the honours and estate of Lovat to his eldest daughter, and the heirs of her body.

The misunderstanding arising between him and the marquis on this occasion, was the reason of captain Fraser's throwing up his commission. The marquis, in order to secure the possession of the honours and estate to his grandchild, had proposed to him, that he should convey and make over his right to the same to her, and in consideration thereof, the marquis engaged to promote him in the army; but the captain, with a noble indignation, rejected the proposal, and utterly refused to make such a renunciation, protesting that no consideration whatever should make him sell his birth-right, by which he was entitled to the estate of Lovat, and to be chief of the Frasers.

It is known to be the custom of Scotland, and more especially in the Highlands, for the next heir-male to marry the heiress; and this cannot appear strange to those who read the Old Testament, since

the like custom was established among the Jews, whose political constitution was pretty much the same with that which anciently and hitherto has prevailed among the clans. There was nothing extravagant or very extraordinary in captain Frazer's pretending to the heiress of the deceased lord Lovat, and by marrying her to unite both their interests and claims.

To accomplish this, in the year 1694, he applied himself secretly to gain the young lady's favour, who was then about fifteen years of age, and lived with her mother, the lady dowager Lovat, at Castledowny, near Inverness. He made his sentiments known to the heiress, by the means of one Frazer of Tenechiel; and gained so much upon her affection, that she consented to marry him privately without the consent of her friends. In order to this, she left her mother's house one morning, with great secrecy, attended only by Tenechiel, her and the captain's confidant in the intrigue. But before they had gone far, Tenechiel repenting of what he had undertaken, and perhaps doubting the sentiment of the young lady's powerful relations, or thinking to make a merit of so important a discovery, carried her back again to her mother, and disclosed the whole affair.

The disappointment of the lovers, and the sorrow and despair of captain Frazer, is more easily to be imagined than described.

This attempt upon the heiress of Lovat, alarming the family of Athol, they thought it not safe for her to remain any longer in that part of the country, and therefore ordered her to be sent, under a proper escort to Dunkeld, the marquess's seat, which was accordingly done; and the marquess from that time, began to think of marrying her into some great family, and thereby blast the
hopes

hopes of the captain, and prevent the honours and estate ever coming to his possession. For this purpose a match was proposed between her and the master of Salton, eldest son of lord Salton, which is a distinct family of the Frasers. Lord Salton embraced this proposal very cheerfully, thinking such an alliance very advantageous and honourable to his family.

The original design of the lord, by whom this affair was contrived and conducted, was to have had the marriage celebrated at the family seat of the Frasers, Cattedowny, where the lady-dowager Lovat resided; and thither lord Salton, his son, the intended bridegroom, accompanied by lord Mungo Murray, a younger son of the marquess of Athol, were going, when captain Simon Fraser stopped them in their journey, and brought them prisoners to that very place into which they were to have entered in triumph. When he had them there, he expostulated the matter with lord Salton, and shewed him so plainly the nature of his own title to be chief of the Lovat tribe of Frasers, that he readily relinquished the match. If the young lady had been there, this stroke would have been decisive; but as she was not, and the lady-dowager Lovat was a very agreeable woman, and exceedingly beloved by the clan, captain Fraser made his addresses to her, in which he prevailed; and though he had a guard about the house, and some other circumstances gave this marriage an air of force; yet, such was the affection of that lady to him, that when, by the power of her family he was driven out of the Frasers country, and forced to fly for his life, she was not only the companion of his dangers and misfortunes, but, in the midst of those difficulties, insisted upon a second solemnization of the marriage, which at her desire was

complied with: but the kindness of the lady was not greater than the hatred of her family. They pursued captain Fraser with implacable steadiness, exerted against him the weight of their power, which drove him to rocks and caves for shelter, and employed at the same time the weight of their influence by which they procured a sentence of the court of judicary against him for a rape. They pursued him likewise as guilty of high treason in levying war; and to support these dreadful sentences in both cases, they procured an order for a party of dragoons, commanded by lieutenant Robert Campbell, to put the law in execution with respect to his house and estate at Beaumont, which that gentleman, with great reluctance, did.

Thus captain Fraser became an enemy to the government in contravention of law, which drove him from his country, friends and wife, till, on a representation to king William, of glorious memory, a remission was granted to him as to the treason, but the judgment as to the rape remained in full force; so that he had a pardon for the greater crime, with non obstante to be hanged for the less offence: which he avoided by keeping out of the reach of his enemies as well as he could, and when it was found impracticable for him to remain either in Scotland or England, he was compelled to fly to the only place where he was sure of protection; and thus carried him to the court of St. Germain's, so that by the Jacobite interest in Scotland, he was driven to act the part of a Jacobite himself; and thus, we are told by an French writer, was the end and plan of his first application to the exiled family, by whom he was immediately received in the character and quality of *son Lové*, and chief of the Frasers.

The

The first thing he did, was to open the eyes of the French ministers with respect to the posture of affairs in Scotland, which was a very difficult thing to do, since they were at that time so perplexed that neither the French nor English court knew what to make of them. He shewed them clearly that, with regard to the family at St. Germain's, the clans only were to be depended upon, for that the other parties in Scotland sought merely their own interest, and were for any court in which they could be uppermost.

It was in consequence of the lights he gave them, that the French ministers came to change their notions with respect to persons and things; and whatever sentiments they might entertain of the sincerity of his attachment to the family in France, they were convinced that he did not deceive them in the accounts he gave; and therefore, notwithstanding all that was said by the earl of Middleton and his creatures, they continued to employ him; and he had likewise a share in the favour of queen Mary, who having been herself in Scotland, when duchess of York, had truer notions of things than some of her Scotch ministers could have wished she had, because it led to disapprove several of those schemes in which they were most sanguine.

Captain Frazer was honoured with a commission, some say that of a colonel of foot, others a major-general's, and furnished with power and credentials to treat with the noblemen and gentlemen in Scotland, who were attached to that interest, and particularly the chiefs of the clans. He was likewise provided with some arms and ammunition, and with a sum of money from the court of France.

Mr. Lockhart, of Carnwarth, in his *Memoirs*, treats this matter as a sham plot, trumped up by the duke of Queensbury and his party, and charged upon the marquess of Athol and the Tory party, in order to furnish a pretence to ruin and oppress them.

Simon Frazer knew exactly the situation of things; and the characters and measures of all the great men in both kingdoms; and this enabled him to play them one against another, and to avail himself of them all. He had proposed to the court of France to depend upon the Highlanders, and the Highlanders only. He knew very well the confidence the court of St. Germain's had in the dukes of Hamilton and Athol, and other great men in Scotland, and knew that some of the queen's ministers corresponded with the court of St. Germain's; and in de both Perth and Middleton believe, that they would prepare every thing, in case of the queen's death, for a change to their likings; and he also knew that they intended no such thing, but practised this artifice with a view to prevent their contriving plots and conspiracies during the war.

Upon his coming down to Scotland, he offered the earl of Leven and the duke of Argyre, to do service to the government; and by this means he procured admittance to, and a pass from, the duke of Queensbury. But before he did this, he had tried, by the interposition of the Murrays, to recover himself to the Athol family, but found it impossible, and that they were bent to destroy him if they could.

He therefore thought himself at full liberty to take the most improper and corrupt inferences to the duke of Queensbury, but this could not be called

called betraying them, because they never trusted him. They acted upon a different plan, and whether they really intended to serve either one court or the other, was a secret then, and will so remain to the end of time. But it was no secret to him, that they hated the duke of Queensbury, and the duke of Queensbury them; and therefore he knew, that offering to find out their correspondences would recommend him to his grace. But he never communicated to the duke one word of his secret commission, or of his message to the clans, so that he did not betray those that trusted him, nor the scheme with which he was trusted.

Upon the return of captain Fraser to France, and the court of St. Germain's, where, by the way, he was always called and considered as lord Lovat. He found his interest much sunk; the clamour from England and Scotland had got over thither before him; and, notwithstanding all he could say, and all that he had done, there was no such thing as making people there believe that he had not betrayed the royalists, as they called them in Scotland: but this would not have given him much pain, if the French ministers had not conceived animosities of him; but they finding that the very paper he had given them, concerning the strength of the clans, with the remarks of the earl of Cromertie upon it, had been produced to the English parliament, concluded that he must have betrayed them, though the fact really was, that he gave this paper originally to sir John M'Lean, in order to engage him to introduce him to queen Mary; and sir John being very unluckily taken into custody, upon his going over to take the benefit of the indemnity, and being examined as to his knowledge of captain Fraser, owned every thing and delivered up this paper.

Lord Lovat was however soon delivered from the persecution he had been under from the want of his return into France. The ministry of Versailles were convoked, they had injured him, and that they never had received any just or criminal account of that country but from him, and therefore, though they might be civil to some of the Scotch correspondents of the court of St. Germain's affairs and, yet they never depended upon them: and the duke of Berwick plainly declared, that there was no relying upon, or trusting to the professions, of those great men who were Lord Lovat's capital enemies; so that his credit was in proportion as theirs declined; but, except being freed from the usual suspicions of the French court, Lord Lovat reaped little benefit from this change; for the ministry, having now no farther views upon Scotland, took very little care of men of that nation; so that he was driven to very hard shifts for a subsistence, notwithstanding he succeeded to the greatest men in that kingdom, and was, to outward appearance, very well received by them; and yet he had sense enough to make a proper use, without flattering himself with imaginary hopes, or entertaining false expectations, as was the case with the rest of his countrymen, who had pleased themselves with notions, that the Great Monarch would never desert them, whereas as an ill success looked upon the new constitution in that Isle, and an entered into a new system was reported to the interest of the exiled tories, which, though it was a false appearance, proved as distressing as the former, and caused a more violent and angry dispute for a treaty with, and a petition in favour of that tory were taken in character at far as than as they were to arouse the ministers in England, and to keep alive the tories and

parties in Great-Britain, in maintaining of which the French still hoped to find their account.

Lord Lovat was afterwards restored to favour, and pardoned for his loyalty and services in the rebellion in 15; after which he made his first public appearance at Edinburgh in the year 1717. About the same year his lordship intermarried with a daughter of the laird of Grant, sister to the present sir James Grant, bart. intending to add to his power and interest by an alliance with so potent and numerous a clan. Of this marriage are issue two sons and two daughters.

Upon the decease of this lady, his lordship married a young lady nearly related to the noble family of Argyll, by whom he had a son named Archibald: but his cruel and unworthy usage of that lady, which has for ever occasioned a separation between them, instead of uniting himself more firmly to that great family, as he intended, has partly drawn upon him their resentment and contempt.

About the year 1737, lord Lovat became greatly suspected of some treasonable designs: and an information was given to one of the secretaries of state, that his lordship, under pretence of providing for his independent company, had collected up a considerable number of fire-arms, powder, balls and targets.

This was reported to a certain great man at court, who thereupon wrote to lord Lovat upon the subject, desiring from him an account of the truth of these matters, and that he would satisfy the government with respect to the charge: and that he might thereby quiet the apprehension that was then entertained of his conduct, and as he afterwards readily reported that his lordship proposed

Send his sons to France for their education, he advised his lordship to send them up to London; and to encourage him thereto, this great man offered to have a particular regard in their education, and undertook to be at the expence thereof out of his own pocket: such was this nobleman's generous care and concern to preserve this family from destruction: but our lord was deaf to his counsels and friendly admonition, and contented himself with sending him long letters in his own vindication, stuffed with thrusting evasions and flattering speeches, and boasting of the great services he had done in the year 1715, which he pretended ought to free him from any false imputation of disloyalty.

Lord Lovat was certainly under great obligations to the government for the fortunate turn in his affair after the year 1715. His late majesty frequently heaped favour upon him; made him lord-lieutenant of the county and governor of Inverness, gave him a pension, and the command of a Highland independent company, there being several of those companies raised after the rebellion to preserve the peace in the Highlands.

The king knew my lord's character, and that he appeared in arms against the rebels purely to serve himself: and therefore his majesty resolved, if possible, by bestowing him with favours, to let him see, that his chief interest lay in serving the government faithfully. This was great policy, and had all the effects that could be proper to let him comply with the dangerous design, or even to continue him in the employment of those operations which the late king thought proper to bestow upon him, the rebellion, in all probability, would never have been carried to such a height as it was; for he, with his
own

own clan, could have crushed it in its infancy. But in the year 1738, his lordship having voted contrary to the directions of the ministry, although the candidate he voted for was in the court interest, they took away his pension, stript him of his command, and deprived him of every mark of the government's favour.

It was not long before his lordship shewed his disgust after the court favour was withdrawn from him: and, his conversation plainly discovered, that he only wanted an opportunity to break out into rebellion. Not long after the battle of Preston-Pans, the Frasers, to the number of five hundred, were assembled, and armed, and sent to join the rebels at Perth.

A report was current about this time, and generally believed, that his lordship made an offer to a certain great man at court, that if twenty-five thousand pounds was put into his hands, to be distributed among the chiefs of the clans, he would engage that that part of the country should be kept quiet, and the Highlanders obliged to assist the king's forces.

His proposal, however, was rejected with disdain, and his designs suspected; and so he was reduced to a sort of necessity of engaging in support of the pretender, whose cause, about forty years before, he had notoriously betrayed, and strenuously opposed in the year 1715; and therefore could not now expect any great confidence from that party.

The lord-president, who, since the breaking out of the insurrection in Scotland, was exceeding active and vigilant in the service of the government, out of a sincere concern for the lord Lovat, wrote him a letter, expressing his unfeigned friendship for his lordship;

lordship; but at the same time intimated, that he was not unacquainted with his secret and disloyal practices, entreating him to relinquish an enterprize, the certain and unavoidable consequence of which would be ruin and destruction to himself and family.

It was in vain to think of reclaiming his lordship, for he still continued more daring and open in his proceedings; which determined the earl of Loudon, who was then at Inverness, to put a stop thereto. He marched with some hundreds of his men to Castledowny, and sent lord Lovat a message, in the king's name, to attend him to Inverness, and deliver up what arms he had in possession. My lord not finding himself in a condition to resist, submitted to go along with lord Loudon, and remain at Inverness as a security for his peaceable behaviour, and accordingly staid there for some days; but, upon some sham pretence or other, delayed to perform his promise, as to delivering up the arms; and notwithstanding he was strictly watched, and sentinels placed at his lodgings, yet he found means to break through the back part of the house in the night-time, and made his escape. After which, it was said, he was very instrumental in promoting and carrying on the rebellion, by raising and leading the Highlanders, and alarming them with reports of being exterminated and destroyed by the king's troops with fire and sword, and persuading them to use every other means left for their preservation, but by no means recourse to arms to defend their estates, property, and families, from the rapine and violence of their enemies.

In order to remove this matter, it is reported, that he was obliged to declare, or manifest, which he did by publicly reading the kirk's on a Sunday.

day. His son was at the head of the Frasers, at the famous battle of Culloden-house, where they behaved with their usual courage and resolution.

The pretender's son, after his defeat, the same night fled to Lovat's house, and finding his lordship at home in his bedchamber, he burst into tears, and said, "My good lord, we are undone ;
" my heart bleeds for poor Scotland ;" and without adding more, he fell down upon the bed in a swoon.

The next day his lordship and his guest retired to a mountainous and woody country called Glenstrafarrar, where his lordship remained for some time upon the summit of the Capillach, being an extraordinary high mountain, from which there is a prospect of all the country round for many miles, great part of which belonged to his lordship's estate. Here he, with three hundred of his Frasers that escaped from the battle, observed the motions of the king's troops, and perceived a body of about eight hundred march to his seat at Castle-downy, which he had the mortification to see demolished and burnt down to the ground. He thereupon addressed his sorrowful clan with these words :
" Now, gentlemen, you see my predictions, that
" our enemies would destroy us with fire and
" sword, prove true, they have begun with me,
" and will not make an end before they have laid
" waste, ravaged and burnt our unhappy country."

His Frasers hereupon, fired with rage and indignation, vowed that they would rush down and attack the villains who had acted such a piece of cruelty and indignity against their chief; and resolved that in revenging the same they would die gloriously, asserting the cause of liberty and their much injured lord; but he with tears and intreaties restrained

strained their furious and desperate purpose, and conjured them to preserve their lives, and wait for a more seasonable opportunity of retaliating their unspeakable affronts and wrongs, and the outrageous and lawless violence that was then done him by burning and demolishing his house.

About the fifth or sixth of June, his lordship was taken and carried, by some of his majesty's troops, to Fort William. From whence he wrote the following letter to his royal highness the duke, at his camp at Fort Augustus :

“ S I R,

“ THIS letter is most humbly addressed to your royal highness by the very unfortunate Simon lord Fraser of Lovat. I durst not presume to solicit, or petition, your royal highness for any favour, if it was not very well known to the best people in this country attached to the government, such as the lord-president, and by those that frequented the court at that time, that I did more essential service to your royal family in suppressing the great rebellion in the year 1715, with the hazard of my life, and the loss of my only brother, than any of my rank in Scotland ; for which I had three letters of thanks from my royal master, by the earl of Stanhope, then secretary of state ; in which his majesty strongly promised to give me such marks of his favour as should oblige all the country to be faithful to him : therefore the gracious king was as good as his word to me ; for as soon as he arrived at court, and was introduced to the king by the late duke of Argyll, I became, by degrees to be as great a favourite as any Scotsman about the court ; and I often carried your royal
highness

highness in my arms in the parks of Kensington and Hampton-court, to hold you up to your royal grandfather, that he might embrace you, for he was very fond of you and the young princesses:

“ Now, sir, all that I have to say in my present circumstances, is, that your royal highness will be pleased to extend your goodness towards me, in a generous and compassionate manner, in my present deplorable situation; and, if I have the honour to kiss your royal highness's hand, I would easily demonstrate to you, that I can do more service to the king and government, than the destroying an hundred such old and very infirm men like me, passed seventy, without the least use of my hands, legs, or knees, can be of advantage, in any shape, to the government.

“ Your royal father, our present sovereign, was very kind to me in the year 1715. I presented on my knees to his majesty a petition in favour of the laird of Mac-Intosh, to obtain a protection for him; which he granted me, and gave it to Charles Cathcart, then groom of his bedchamber, and ordered him to deliver it into my hands, that I might give it to the laird of Mac-Intosh. This was but one testimony of several marks of goodness his majesty was pleased to bestow on me while the king was at Hanover; so I hope I shall feel, that the same compassionate blood runs in your royal highness's veins.

“ Major-general Cambel told me, that he had the honour to acquaint your royal highness, that he was sending me to Fort-William, and that he begged of your royal highness to order a litter to be made for me to carry me to Fort-Augustus, as I am in such a condition that I am not able to stand, walk, nor ride.

“ I am,

" I am, with the utmost submission, and most profound respect,

" S I R,

" Your Royal Highness's

" Most obedient, and

" Most faithful servant,

" L O V A T."

On Sunday the fifteenth of June, his lordship was brought prisoner to Fort Augustus, in his horse-litter, with about fifty rebels more. He had been taken by captain Ferguson of the Furnace bomb, in a boat attempting to get on board a ship. Others say, the said captain took him in a trunk of a tree, where he had the mortification to live twelve days on a small quantity of water, although he had five or six hundred guineas in his pockets. Another mortification it must have been to the old man, that when he was brought to the camp at Fort-Augustus, the officers, and all the followers of the army, received him with insults.

On the fifteenth of July, his lordship was conveyed to Stirling under a strong guard, where he was received by a detachment of lord Mark Ker's dragoons, under the command of major Gardiner. From Stirling, after a few days rest, he proceeded to Edinburgh, on his way to London. From thence he went on to Berwick, and on the twenty-first proceeded on his journey, being escorted by major Gardiner and sixty dragoons. His journey from thence to London was divided into twenty stages, and he was to travel one stage a day.

When he came to the Tower, he was received by general Wilmot, lieutenant-governor of the Tower, who conducted him to the apartment appointed for his reception, but being very feeble, both

both in his hands and legs, some of the wardens were forced to assist him from the coach to his room, where being seated in an elbow chair, and having taken somewhat to refresh him, he could not forbear uttering some reflections on the hardship of his fate.

He was soon after condemned and executed, and his behaviour was equally resolute and decent.

We shall not give a particular account of the circumstances attending his execution, as that would require a repetition of several particulars which we have had occasion to mention already.



Charles Ratcliffe, Esq.

THIS unfortunate gentleman was the youngest son of the late Sir John Ratcliffe, Bart. of De. wentwater, who was executed for high treason.

He was educated at Eton, and was Ratcliffe, by Lady Mary Ratcliffe, daughter to King Charles I. and the late Mary II. He was with his brother, Sir John Ratcliffe, tried, convicted and condemned for high treason, and was executed, and probably would have been pardoned, had he not, with some others, made his escape out of a room at Newgate, through a little door which was then open by accident. This door was afterwards shut, and the room was called the Ratcliffe room, where the turnkeys kept the prisoners, supposing they were pardoned, and were to be set at liberty. The Ratcliffe room was afterwards called the Ratcliffe room, and from



He returned to France, and came back again to England in 1735, and solicited his pardon, but without success, though he appeared publicly and visited several families in Essex. Returning again to France, he accepted of the French king's commission, to act as an officer in the late rebellion; and embarking with his son, and several other Scotch and Irish officers on board the *Esperance* privateer, for Scotland, was taken by his majesty's ship the *Sheerness*; and when he landed at Deal, was very arrogant to the king's officers, till they told him, they intended to use him like a gentleman; but he was going to put it out of their power.

On Friday the twenty-first of November, he was brought under a strong guard, in a coach, from the Tower to the court of King's-bench in Westminster-hall, to be arraigned on his sentence in the year 1716, when he escaped out of Newgate. He pleaded that he was a subject to the king of France, in which country he had resided about thirty years, and had his commission; and that he was not Charles Ratcliffe; meaning, that he was earl of Derwentwater. Then a jury was ordered to be impannelled, by which he was proved to be the identical person.

On Saturday, the twenty-second of November, Mr. Ratcliffe being brought up to the bar of the court of King's bench, was again arraigned, but refused to hold up his hand, or acknowledge any jurisdiction but that of the king of France, insisting on a commission he had in his pocket from the French king; but on hearing his former indictment and conviction read to him in English, he said he was not the Charles Ratcliffe therein mentioned, but the earl of Derwentwater; and his council informed the court, that this was the plea he relied

R R on

chiff; which he declining to do, the jury were called, and after two or three of the panel had been sworn, Mr Ratcliffe challenged the next who was called, as of right, without assigning any reason; but, upon debate of the question, whether he had right to challenge, the court said, it had been determined before, in all the late cases, that the prisoner, in such a case as this, had no pre-emptory challenge: upon which the rest of the jury were sworn, and after a clear evidence of the identity of the person, on the part of the crown, the jury withdrew about ten minutes and then found their verdict, That he was the same Charles Ratcliffe, who was convicted of treason in 1715.

Then the attorney-general moved to have execution awarded against him on his former judgment, to which the prisoner's council objected tendering a plea of pardon by act of parliament in bar of execution. But the court said, as he had already pleaded such a plea as he chose to rely on, and as he was found against him, nothing more

His design in stiling himself earl of Derwentwater, was, that he might pass for Francis, his younger brother, who went to France before 1715, and there died. He would not call the lord-chief-justice lord, because the title of earl was not given him. He refused to hold up his hand at the bar ; and being told, that his own council would ratify him that it was only a form of the court, he said, “ I know many things that I will not advise “ with my council upon.” On hearing the rule for his execution, he desired time, because he and lord Moreton, in the bastile at Paris, should take the same journey at the same time.

On Monday, the eighth of December, 1746, he was beheaded on Tower-hill. At about eleven o'clock, the sheriffs, Mr. alderman Winterbottom and Mr. alderman Alsop, with their officers, came to see if the scaffold was finished, and if every thing was prepared for Mr. Ratcliffe's reception ; which being to their satisfaction, they went to the Tower, and demanded the body of Mr. Ratcliffe, of general Williamson, deputy-governor. Upon being surrendered, he was first put in a landau and carried over the wharf, at the end of which he was put into a mourning coach, and conveyed into a small booth, joining to the stairs of the scaffold, lined with black, where he spent about half an hour in devotion, and then, preceded by the sheriffs, the divines, and some gentlemen his friends, went up the scaffold, where he took leave of his friends with great calmness and serenity of mind ; and having spoken a few words to the executioner, gave him a purse of ten guineas, and put on a damask cap. Then he kneeled down to prayers, which lasted about seven minutes, all the spectators upon the scaffold kneeling with him.

Prayers

and remained with his great remains, a coolness of temper, and was not way shocked at the approach of death. His body was immediately put into a coffin, and carried back in a hearse to the Tower, and the festival booth, and all the boards belonging to them, were cleared away in the afternoon.

His corpse was on the eleventh carried in a hearse attended by two mourning coaches, to St. Giles' in the Fields, and there interred with the remains of the late earl of Derwentwater, according to his desire, with this inscription on his coffin:

Charles Rich, Esq., comes de Derwentwater,

Died on the 8 December, 1746.

Ætatis ann.

Regis huius ann. pater.

He was entirely deprived of any title or estate, and the fortune of the Derwentwater family being thereby diminished to the last. That the issue of the family should not be extinct after, born and

T H E
L I F E A N D D E A T H
O F

Lawrence Shirley, Earl Ferrers.

THE unhappy earl, who is the subject of this article, was son to Robert, earl of Ferrers. His lordship, in the early part of his life, gave hopes of his being an ornament to this noble family; but when he was on his travels, he contracted a habit of drinking, and ran into other fashionable vices, which much altered his disposition of mind, as well as habit of body.

His lordship's fondness for company, and love of drinking, obliged him to spend his time among those who, being his inferiors both in rank and fortune, could not presume to use those admonitions that were necessary to keep him within the bounds of reason.

But drunkenness was not his lordship's **only** vice, he even made it subservient to others: for when sober he was continually laying schemes to mortify others, and to be revenged on those who had affronted him.

His lady, the youngest daughter of sir William Mordaunt, though she used all the arts of soft persuasion, had not the power to humanize a mind too rough and boisterous to be moved by gentleness and kind endearments. The whole course of

sent all his servants out of the way except one. When Mr. Johnson entered the room, he turned the key upon him, and on his presenting his papers, ordered him to fall upon his knees.

Upon Mr. Johnson's expostulating, the earl insisted upon his kneeling on his knees, and imploring the mercy of the Almighty, as he was never more to rise again on this side the grave. Mr. Johnson having obeyed, his lordship discharged the soldiers at his body, and he instantly fell. The earl then raised him up, and asked him how he felt himself; to which he replied, "Like a man who has but a few moments to live." The earl then placed him in a chair and rang the bell. It only being in the house then entering, he was informed Mr. Kirkland, a surgeon. Mr. Kirkland being come, examined the wound, which he found to be mortal, but he endeavoured to give him some relief with the truth, that he thought it would be his last hour, he with great presence of mind, assured him that the man would be well in four or five days.

Mr. Kirkland was never more out of his lordship's sight, but he applied to a neighbouring



Laurence Shirley, Earl Ferrers

Handwritten signature or note.

!

Soon after his lordship set out from Leicester jail in his own Landau and six, under a strong guard, On Wednesday, the fourteenth of April, 1760, he arrived at Westminster, and was immediately ordered to the Tower, where he arrived at six in the evening. The earl's mistress and children then took a lodging in Tower-street, and for some time a servant was continually sent with letters between them: but afterwards this correspondence was permitted only once a day, and the servant discharged.

On Wednesday, the sixteenth of April, the trial of earl Ferrers came on, the right honourable the lord Henley of the Grange being constituted lord high steward upon that occasion. The trial lasted two days, but his lordship was not obliged to stand at the bar the whole time; he was allowed to retire occasionally to a room allotted on purpose; but whenever he returned to the bar, he was obliged to kneel in compliment to the throne, his majesty he supposed to be present in the person of the lord high steward.

However, notwithstanding all that could be urged by his lordship's council in his defence, he was pronounced by his peers guilty of wilful murder.

The day after trial, the lord high steward made a most affecting speech to the prisoner; and then solemnly pronounced sentence, That he should be hanged by the neck till he was dead, and afterwards directed to the surgeons to be dissected. He then bowed his staff, and dismissed the assembly.

During the time his lordship was in the Tower, he was treated with great moderation. His breakfast was only a half pint of tea, with a spoonful of butter in it, and a muffin. With his dinner, he usually drank a pint of wine and a pint of por-

and another pint of each with his supper. He was for the most part calm, but would sometimes start, and hastily unbrace his waistcoat, and otherwise behave so as to shew his mind was disturbed.

His mistress came three times to the Tower to see him, but was not admitted: her children, however, came dressed in mourning, and were with him some time. He had made a will, in which he left thirteen hundred pounds to Mr. Johnston's children, one thousand pounds to each of his four natural children, and sixty pounds a year to his mistress: but as this will was not made till after he was found guilty of the murder by the coroners inquest, it was of no validity, notwithstanding which the same, or nearly the same, provision was made for the persons abovementioned.

A few days before the time appointed for his execution, his lordship sent for his wardrobe and chose out of it a white suit embroidered with silver, saying, "This is the suit in which I was married, and in which I will die." He usually sat up till one or two o'clock, and did not rise till twelve. The night before his execution, he sat up till three o'clock, and when he waked in the morning was sick, but soon recovered.

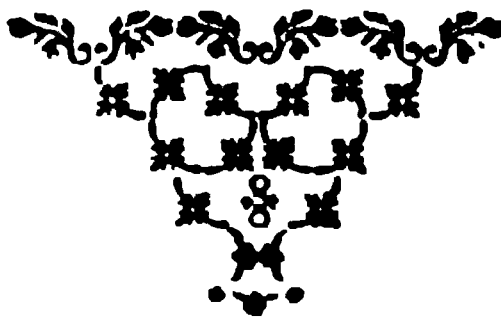
At the place of execution, his lordship, who appears to have been of a strict principle, declined saying any prayer but the Lord's Prayer, and after having repeated it, he died, with great energy. "O God forgive me all my crimes, pardon all my sins."

The executioner soon after proceeded to do his duty, and by sitting with great reflection. He was married a part of the last of the raised regiment. He was sent in the night and the sword being given to the sheriff, that part of the executioner was taken to a level with the wall, and he

he remained suspended in the air. He struggled for a few moments, but was soon dispatched by the pressure of the executioner; and having hung an hour and five minutes, he was cut down; the shell being raised, it was dropped into it and carried by six men to the hearse; after which it was conveyed by the sheriffs in the same procession to Surgeons Hall, to undergo the remainder of the sentence. The surgeons made a large incision from the neck to the bottom of the thorax or breast, and another across the throat: the abdomen was laid open, and the bowels taken out.

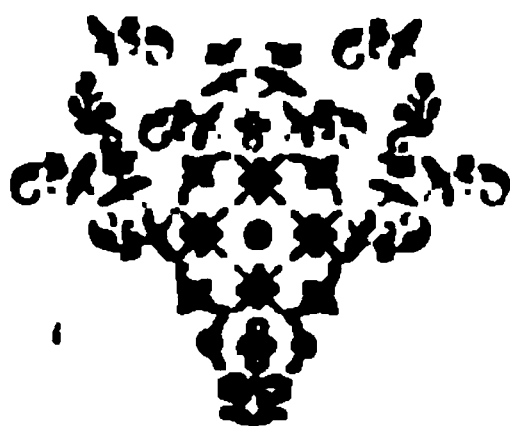
Thus did this nobleman suffer like a common felon; and it seems probable that this unhappy end was owing to the early prejudices against the Christian religion, which he had contracted in his travels, and which he appears to have retained to the last.

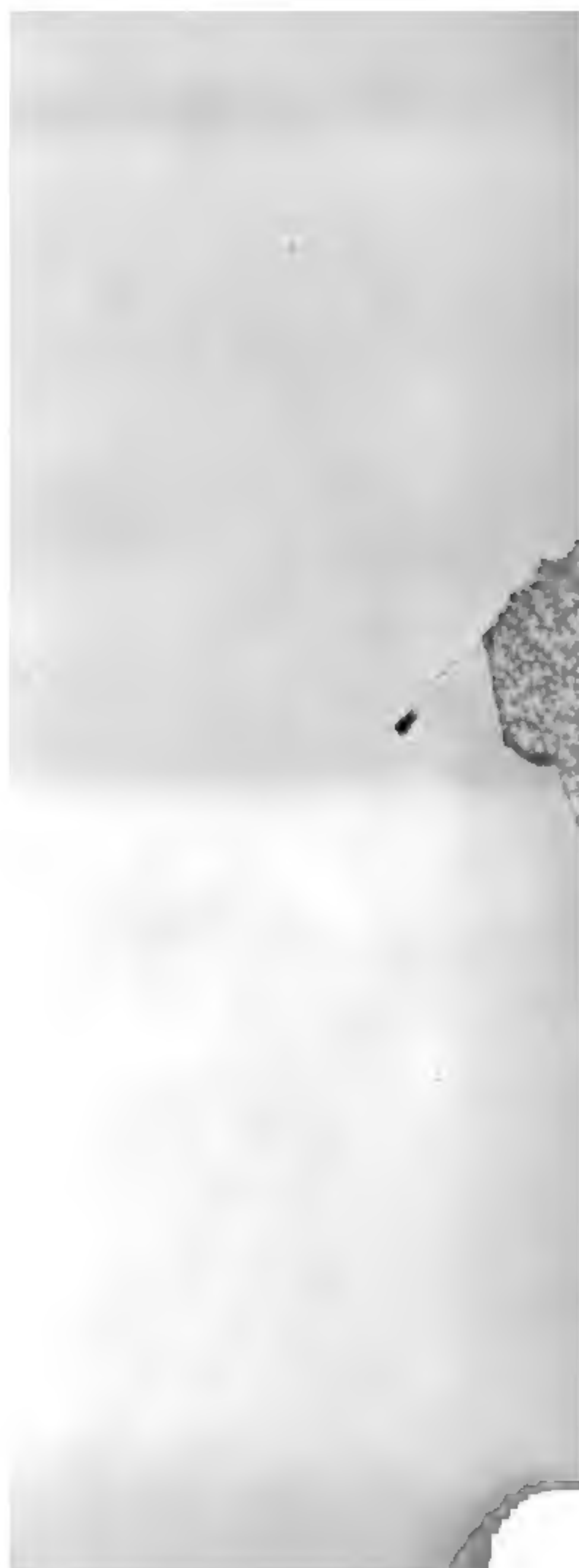
END OF THE THIRD VOLUME.



LIVES contained in the THIRD VOLUME.

Sir Henry Slingsby, - - - - -	539
Sir Charles Lucas, - - - - -	541
Sir George Lisle, - - - - -	544
Lord Ruffel, - - - - -	547
Arthur, lord Balmerino, - - - - -	556
William, earl of Kilmarnock, - - - - -	574
Simon, lord Lovat, - - - - -	586
Charles Ratchffe, esq. - - - - -	604
Lawrence Shirley, earl Ferrers, - - -	609





!

.

B. D. HARRIS

